E
372
.M76
copy 2

Class E372
Book .M76
copy 2
SMITHSONIAN DEPOSIT

THE MEMOIR

OF

JAMES MONROE, ESQ.

RELATING TO HIS

UNSETTLED CLAIMS

UPON THE

PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GILMER, DAVIS AND CO.

1828.

E 372
.M76
Copy 1

INTRODUCTION.

The memoir, remarks and documents, which will be found in the following pages, were printed in the National Intelligencer in November, 1826, and reprinted in a few other papers. As they treat of occurrences which are interesting to the public, as well as to the individual to whom they relate, it is thought proper to collect and republish them in a pamphlet, that the whole may be seen at one view.

By these papers, as originally drawn, the difference between the claims as presented to the committee to whom they were referred, and the decision on them, was not shewn. The remarks were written while the claims were under consideration, and the memoir refers to the difference in general terms only. A concise view is now taken of it in the memoir, as will be seen at its conclusion.

THE MEMOIR

OF

JAMES MONROE, ESQ.

Believing that I had been injured by the settlement of my accounts for services in former stations, I deemed it proper to bring my claims before Congress, on the 5th of January, 1825, at the expiration of which session, my term, in the high trust with which I was then honored, expired. I did not ask a decision on those claims, at that time, but sought only to bring them under consideration, that they might be decided on after my retirement.

As objections were raised against those claims during the last session, to which the observations which I had presented to the committee to whom they were referred, at the preceding session, did not extend, it became necessary for me to give further explanations, applicable to each objection, so far as I was acquainted with it; and having no direct correspondence with the committee, I requested Mr. Gouverneur to attend in Washington, to receive those explanations, and to communicate them to those who might be willing to peruse them, which he accordingly did.

It may readily be conceived, that it was impossible for me to advert to claims, founded on presumed injuries, in the settlement of my accounts, without taking into view the causes which produced them. The great lapse of time which has intervened, may have erased those occurrences from the minds of others, but, with the individual, all the incidents which affected profoundly his character, his welfare, and his peace, remain connected through life, and it is natural for him to review them with deep interest, in his retirement, especially if recalled to his memory by others of a like kind, proceeding from them. My recall from my first mission to France of 1794, was the ground on which the claims arising under that mission were principally founded. Possessing documents illustrative of my conduct, in the very circumstance for which I was recalled, that were never used before, it seemed incumbent on me to make them known on that very inter-

esting occasion. With that view, I transmitted them to Mr. Gouverneur, with the explanations specified, to be used in like manner. I took that measure with no unfriendly feeling to any one; indeed such feeling, so far as it ever existed, has long since ceased. My object was to place my conduct, by such additional evidence as I possessed, in an occurence of high importance to my country, as well as to myself, in the light in which I knew that it ought to be viewed. I was very anxious also, to make known the kind and favourable sentiments which were expressed of me, by the illustrious individual by whom I was recalled, on receiving information of my conduct, from a very respectable friend, in whom he confided, who was with me, and well acquainted with it, at the period when my recall was decided on. The favourable opinion of that individual was always an object of the highest interest to me. I had served under him as a subaltern, in our revolutionary army, and had witnessed his very exemplary conduct at the most difficult and perilous epochs of that great struggle. I had received his approbation of my conduct in that struggle, and been promoted by him. I was a member of the Revolutionary Congress in 1783, and present when he resigned his commision as Commander in Chief of our Armies, and retired to private life. I knew him at his residence in retirement, as I afterwards did while a member of the Senate, when at the head of the government to which he was called by the unanimous suffrage of his fellow citizens, and I have always cherished the highest respect for his memory, and admired his great virtues and talents.

There was another instance in which my character had been assailed in that mission, the circumstances attending which, I thought proper to avail myself of that occasion to explain. After my reception in August, 1794, by the National Convention of France, the committee of public safety offered me a house for my accommodation, as the Minister of the United States, in any part of Paris which I should prefer, and sent me a carriage and horses, without waiting for my answer. I declined the house immediately, on the principle, that the acceptance of it was forbidden by an article of our constitution, and, after retaining the carriage a few weeks, until I had obtained one of my own, I returned it with the horses, with a request that I might be permitted to pay for their use, in the same manner as if I had procured them of an individual, which was granted, and performed. At the instance and earnest pressure of many of my fellow citizens who were then in Paris, who thought that the refusal of those accommodations might revive suspicions which had before existed, and that the purchase of a house on my own account would have a good effect, and be useful to them and to our country, in the then state of our affairs, I bought one of an individual, declaring to those in power in France that I did it to accommodate me as the Minister of their ally, and with intention to offer it to my government, on my retirement, on the terms on which I had purchased it. Having documents to prove this fact,

with the heavy loss which I sustained in consequence thereof, as I believed, by my recall, I forwarded them to Mr. Gouverneur, with the others.

Soon after my recall from this mission, I was appointed by my native State to the office of Chief Magistrate, in which I served the constitutional term of three years, and retired from it with the approbation of my fellow citizens, as was evinced by the vote of the General Assembly, and more particularly by the manner in which it was given. My affairs requiring it, I resumed immediately my station at the bar, and with a fair prospect of success. I was at no time rich. My landed inheritance in Westmoreland county was small, but still it was something. By the sale and investment of the amount received for it in other lands, as soon as I arrived at maturity, I had laid the foundation of independence, and should have attained it had I pursued the profession of the law a few years longer: for I possessed, at the time of my appointment on my first mission to France of 1794, more property than I now hold, and owed comparatively nothing.

At this moment, an event occurred which produced great excitement throughout our Union. By the treaty of St. Ildephonso, between France and Spain, the latter had ceded to the former Louisiana, and had suppressed, as is believed, at the instance of the then government of France, our deposite at New Orleans, the right to which had been secured by our treaty with Spain of 1795. The excitement produced by that act was universal throughout our Union, and particularly ardent in the Western country, the commerce of a large portion of which, was dependent on the free navigation of the Mississippi. The aggression justified war, and many were prepared to risk it by removing the obstruction by force.

The President preferred a different policy. He resolved to make an experiment of a pacific character, by a special mission, with intention to resort to war, so far as depended on him, should that mission fail. In that emergency he demanded my service, and nominated and appointed me to France and Spain, without consulting me, but with a perfect knowledge that I should not decline the mission.

Independent of any favourable opinion, which the President might have entertained of me personally, arising from the very friendly relations which had so long existed between us in public and in private life, there were considerations known to the public, which, doubtless, had weight with him in making the appointment. My zeal, in favor of the free navigation of the Mississippi, had been shewn on several important occasions. As far back as the year 1786, when a member of the Revolutionary Congress, I had strenuously opposed a projected treaty with Spain, by which, had it been concluded, the use of that river would have been suspended for a term, and our right to it, as I thought, impaired. It was known that I wrote the paper, which was presented by the delegates of the State, in opposition to that project.*

* See Secret Journal of Congress—Foreign Affairs—vol. 4th, p. 87, Aug. 29, 1786.

I mention this occurence with no unfriendly feeling to Mr. Jay, our then secretary of foreign affairs, for no one thinks more highly than I have done, and still do, of his talents, revolutionary services, and general merit, which I take this occasion, with pleasure, to declare.

Another instance had occured, in which my zeal, in favor of the free navigation of this river, had been displayed. In January, 1795, in my first mission to France, at a period when our relations with the French government were of a most friendly character, France and Spain being then at war, and the armies of the republic victorious in every quarter, and particularly in Spain, a negotiation being sought by the latter, and existing between the two governments, I presented a note to the French government, in which I urged, from motives of policy, which ought to have weight with that government, the exertion of its influence, to secure to us the free navigation of that river, either by extending it to a negotiation then intrusted to Mr. Short, our Minister at Madrid, or by providing for it in its own treaty. These facts being well known to the Union, could not fail to have their effect, in every quarter, as to the zeal which I should carry with me into the negotiation.*

The presumption was equally strong that I should be well received by the French government. As my efforts to preserve a good understanding between the United States and France, in my former mission, had produced some effect on the policy of that government towards the United States, and much to its displeasure, after it had decided on a change of policy, it was natural that the censure inflicted on me by my own government, by my recall, on the presumption that I had failed to perform my duty to it, and to my country, in that very circumstance, should excite some feeling in the government of France, and restore to me its confidence, which had been withdrawn. The men still in power were all of the revolutionary character, with most of whom I was personally well acquainted, and had witnessed their greatest difficulties. I was the first minister who had been presented to the republic; had beheld three great movements against them—those of Germinal, of Prairial, and Vindemiare—in the latter of which Barras commanded the National Guard, and Napoleon Bonaparte acted under him. This occurred at the moment when the Convention was engaged in the act of transferring the government from itself to the Directory, and to the two Councils. I was in the Hall of the Convention just before the attack commenced, and retired from it at the instance, and under the guidance, of some of the members, who led me through the Carousel, by their cannon, whose matches were lighted, bearing up towards the street Richlieu, where those of the sections were posted, and lighted against them. I had scarcely passed the latter when the action commenced, at about four

* See the view which I printed, on my return from this mission—"Notes on Mississippi, communicated to the Com. of P. S." p. 134.

o'clock, P. M. and which continued till ten at night. No other citizen of our Union held the same relation to them. See, in the View, &c. three letters to the Secretary of State, in which I give an account of those three movements, viz: April 14th, 1795, p. 145; June 14th, 1795, page 168; and October 20, same year, page 269.

It might fairly be inferred, therefore, reasoning on the best propensities of our nature, if that government could be induced to yield to our demands, that it would be gratified to make the accommodation, at the instance of one, with whose good wishes they were acquainted and whom they had injured. They had had before no opportunity to make to him any reparation. A few days after I took my leave of the Directory, not being able to sail for the United States during the winter, and unwilling to remain a spectator of the distressing incidents which followed, I proceeded to Holland, and remained there until the spring, at which time I hurried through France to Bordeaux, from which port we sailed.

My reception by the French government, in my second mission, on my return in 1803, was as kind and friendly as could have been expected, from what had before occurred. That the mission contributed to the result contemplated—to prevent war, and secure to us, by the treaties which were then concluded with the French government, not only the free navigation of the Mississippi, but all Louisiana, Mr. Talleyrand's letter to Mr. Livingston, which was written after my appointment was known in France, while I was at sea, Mr. Livingston's letter to me in reply to mine, announcing my arrival at Havre, and the extract from Col. Mercer's* journal of what passed between Mr. Livingston and me on the evening of my arrival in Paris, will distinctly show. Mr. Talleyrand states, in explicit terms, that the first consul thought it improper to commence a negotiation, on the ground of Mr. Livingston's complaints, until Mr. Monroe, the Minister Extraordinary, whom the President had appointed to discuss the subject, should arrive, and he heard, that every matter susceptible of contradiction might be completely and definitively discussed. He states, also, that the first consul had charged him to assure our government, that, far from thinking that their new position in Louisiana could be an object of solicitude, or cause the least injury to the United States, he would receive the Minister Extraordinary whom the President had sent to him, with the greatest pleasure, and that he hoped that this mission would terminate to the satisfaction of both States. Mr. Livingston congratulates me on my arrival, and expresses an ardent desire that my mission may answer mine and the public expectation. War, he says, may do something for us; nothing else would: that he had paved the way for me by his memoirs; and if I could add to them an assurance that we were in possession

*He was the son of General Mercer, who fell in the battle of Princeton, in our revolutionary war. He was an enlightened and estimable citizen, who accompanied Mr. Monroe, as his friend.

of New Orleans, we might do well. With the sentiments contained in this letter, those which were declared by Mr. Livingston, after my arrival in Paris, were in strict accord, as appears by the extract from Colonel Mercer's journal of what passed in our first interview. On being informed that the motion which had been made in the Senate, for taking possession of New Orleans by force, had failed, he expressed his regret at it, under a belief that force only could give it to us. It is just to observe, that in expressing this opinion, Mr. Livingston showed no excitement whatever, but appeared to speak under a thorough conviction of what he believed to be the fixed policy of the French government, founded on his communications with the Ministers, and what he knew of the character and policy of the first consul, in other respects. It affords me pleasure to add, that, in the negotiation which was commenced immediately afterwards, and in the result procured by the treaties in which it terminated, great harmony prevailed between Mr. Livingston and myself.

The representation then made to me, and by authority entitled to confidence, was that the first consul having his cabinet assembled at St. Cloud, and walking in the garden with the members who composed it, having heard of the arrival of the Minister Extraordinary at Havre, communicated to them the fact, and then observed that the negotiation should be immediately commenced, and addressing himself to Mr. Marbois, added, that "being an affair of the Treasury, I will commit it to you." His motive for committing the negotiation to Mr. Marbois, and in a manner not to wound the feelings of Mr. Talleyrand, may be readily conceived. It was added, by the same authority, that, until that moment, so decided was believed to be the purpose of the first consul, to cede no portion of the territory in question, and unchangeable his views, after making a decision, that none of his ministers would have ventured to propose it to him. The sum suggested in the first interview with Mr. Marbois, as that which his government had a right to claim for this territory, was one hundred and twenty millions of francs, the estimated value of Tuscany, which had been given for it; but this was not insisted on, nor explicitly proposed. It was the subject only of free communication. The first proposition which he made, was that we should give for it eighty millions, of which sixty should be paid to France in cash, in one year, in Paris—the other twenty to our own citizens; and that the vessels and goods of France should be perpetually exempted, in the ports of the ceded territory, from foreign duties. The change which was made, by the payment in stock, instead of cash, with the limitation of the exemption of French vessels and goods from foreign duties, to twelve years, with every other change, from this project, was the effect of negotiation and accommodation. I add with pleasure that the conduct of Mr. Marbois, in every stage of the negotiation, was liberal, candid and fair, indicating a very friendly feeling for the United States, and a strong desire to preserve the most amicable relations between the two countries.

It is just to state, that the frank, candid and friendly conduct of the two great houses of Hope, of Amsterdam, and of Baring, of London, by offering to us loans to any amount we might require, at the usual interest, rendered to the United States essential service in the negotiation. We had reason to believe, that the knowledge of those offers, and the confidence with which it inspired the French government, that our stock might be converted through them, into cash, at a fair price, aided us in prevailing on that government to accept the payment in stock, and to lessen the amount demanded for the territory ceded.

It is just also to acknowledge the attention received, and good offices rendered in the negotiation, by Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, who invited me to an interview immediately after my arrival in Paris, and gave me assurances of those good offices, with which I was satisfied he complied.

In regard to these two missions, I shall remark here, that, for the mortification and distress to which I was subjected in the first, I have derived great consolation, from a belief that the portion thereof which arose from the distrust which was manifested of me, by the French government, enabled me, under the influence of just causes, to promote in some degree, in the second, the interest of my country.

None of these documents relating to either mission, were ever published before, nor should I now publish them, if my advancement to office was depending in any instance, before my fellow-citizens. They are connected with the history of our Union, respecting which, in all its important occurrences, a just opinion should be formed. In the present state, they can affect me, in point of character alone, abstracted from every other consideration. To this I have looked with great sensibility through life. Having had occasion to notice both missions, in their most material circumstances, with a view to my claims, and in consequence character, I have thought that it was not only proper, but a duty, to communicate every document which could throw light on either the one or the other.

At the expiration of the second mission, I retired to my farm in Albemarle county, in which I had resided, when at home, from early life, and to which I have been much attached, having always lived in great amity with my fellow citizens there. Our affairs continuing to be unsettled, I was elected by them, in 1810, a delegate to the General Assembly, and by it, during the session, to the office of Chief Magistrate, and shortly afterwards, invited by my frend Mr. Madison, then President, to the department of state, which I accepted. In that department and in the department of war, I served under him, and till his retirement to private life, on which event, I was elected his successor to that high trust. In these latter offices I served my country fourteen years, and in which, I well know, that I devoted my best efforts, with unwearied zeal, to promote its prosperity and welfare. To imputations that were raised against some portions of my conduct in

these offices, I thought it proper to give explanations, in my communications to Mr. Gouverneur last winter, and to which I now refer.

Since my retirement, congress have passed an act respecting my claims, of a nature very different from what I had anticipated. As this act has rejected one very important item, and modified others, in a manner to reduce, very materially, the amount claimed, I think it proper to state, briefly, the difference between the claims and the decision, so as to enable my fellow-citizens to form a correct judgment, whether justice has been rendered to me by the act.

The claims which I presented for both missions, were few and special. They were confined, strictly, to incidents attending each; and I asked only, in regard to each, the allowance which had been made to others, in like cases, where the like had before occurred; and in those which were peculiar, the like having never before occurred, such compensation as, on the principles of justice, I knew I was entitled to. On account of the first mission, I asked the salary belonging to the office, for the term during which I was detained in France, after my recall, by the season, and the want of a suitable vessel, in which to embark my family, with an increased allowance for contingent expenses. I asked, also, interest on those claims, from the time they became due till paid. For the second mission, I asked interest on the outfit, which had been withheld from me on my appointment, till the time it was allowed, with interest, on the aggregate till paid. 2d. An allowance for the sum paid for a passage in a vessel, in which I did not sail, my instructions not having been prepared. 3d. An increased allowance for contingent expenses. 4th. An allowance for my detention in England, after my return from Spain, by special causes, when I had the permission of the government to return, and should have returned, had I not been prevented by those causes.

By the act referred to, the salary belonging to the office, for the term during which I was detained in France, after my recall from the first mission, by the want of a vessel to bring me home, was allowed, and an increased allowance was also made for contingent expenses, by placing me, on the average, with the allowances made to all our ministers, with every power, for like expenses. The interest claimed on both items, was suspended until 1810, the period at which the account for the second mission was settled, about thirteen years after the first claim became due, and a longer term after the second. For the second mission, the interest claimed on the outfit, which had been withheld on my appointment, for the term during which it had been withheld, with interest on the aggregate afterwards till paid, was refused. The average allowance made to all our ministers, for contingent expenses, was adopted. The claim for money paid for a passage in a vessel, in which I did not sail, was admitted, as was that for detention in England, after my return from Spain, when I had permission to return home; but the interest on those several claims was suspended to the period specified.

As the justice of my claim for contingent expenses in the first mission, in the extent claimed, and to interest on the outfit withheld in the second, has, I presume, been fully shewn in the remarks which follow, I shall add nothing respecting the decision on those items here; nor shall I, for the same reason, add any thing on the decision respecting interest on the claims generally, contenting myself with a reference to the illustration given in those remarks, of those subjects. Some considerations, however, force themselves to my recollection, on a view of the objections raised against my claims, which I deem it neither improper, nor, in the slightest degree, indelicate to mention. Indeed, I consider it a duty to do it. In pecuniary transactions, the conduct of each party to the other; the benefit which either derives from the good offices of the other, merits attention. This is done between individuals, and is equally proper between an individual and the public. If this is looked into, how will the account stand between my country and myself? What sums did I borrow in the late war, when in the department of war—in the hour of our greatest peril—and what was the saving made to the public by those loans, independent of the support thereby given to our military operations? Treasury notes were then selling at 20 per cent. discount, and all the loans which I made, after that of the first million, which was made immediately after I entered the department, were made at par, by which $20 in the $100 were saved to the country—one fifth of the whole amount of the loan. This service was the more burdensome, because I was, at that time, charged with the department of state, as well as of war. I was invited by the President into the latter office from the former, in consequence of the emergency which had occurred, and on which account I most readily accepted it. Governor Tomkins, to whom the department of state was then offered, having declined it, I was again charged likewise with that department. At this period, the war pressed with great violence along the whole extent of our sea coast, and on our western and north-western frontier. There was not a city which was not menaced with invasion, in defence of which it became necessary to call into the field a strong force. For such an emergency, the treasury was not prepared, and, in consequence, it became my duty to make provision for the support of the troops in the best manner that I could, which was done by loans from banks and corporations, in every quarter of our Union, in which they could be obtained. In many instances, these loans were made by me personally, with the agents of the institutions, who attended for the purpose, and in others, by officers who acted under the department, and on its responsibility. The sum thus borrowed, amounted to several millions of dollars, as has been shewn by one of the documents heretofore printed, and may be seen by reference to those in the department of war. For every thousand dollars, thus loaned, two hundred were saved, and for every million, two hundred thousand. Important as the saving made by those loans was, in money, they were of much

greater importance in other respects. Without their aid, the supplies necessary for the support of the troops could not, it is believed, have been furnished. They must, therefore, have suffered much, and might have been forced to retire, and leave our cities open to the enemy. I do not boast of this, nor of any other service. It was my duty to render all that I could, and I certainly did. I never mentioned it otherwise than in reference to my claims. But when justice is withheld from me, in instances in which it is fairly due, by the withholding of which I have suffered so much, and am still suffering, it is natural that the saving derived to my country, from this service, should recur to my recollection.

Whoever takes the trouble to examine my claims, will find that they have stood on peculiar ground; that they did not involve the simple question only, in what manner the accounts for the important missions, to which I was appointed, should be settled, and for what extra expenses and advances interest should be allowed me, in the settlement. The account for each mission was settled in due time, after my return from it, and injustice done me by the settlement. An inquiry has been made, why did I not apply for justice sooner? An answer will be found in the observations which I presented to the first committee, to whom my claims were referred, and in the remarks which follow; which is, that I could never ask of one administration, what had not been allowed by another; that such claims could be settled by congress alone, and that there never was a time when I could make the appeal to that body prior to that, of which I availed myself, the moment preceding my retirement from the late office, to be decided on after my retirement.

When an injury is done to a citizen, especially by the settlement of his accounts with the government, the ordinary rules of limitation and interest do not apply. The delay in making the application for redress is a proof of respect, and the obligation on the government to make reparation, to the full extent of the injury, the more forcible. The motive to urge those claims, in reference to my private interest, was strong, but I did not yield to it. I encountered the difficulties arising from the injury I had sustained, in seeking redress, by a reliance on my private resources, by loans, and the pledge of my private property. The length of the delay, as I was taken almost through the whole interval in the service of my country, during which I could pay little attention to my private concerns, and which suffered by neglect, could not fail to augment considerably those debts. In presenting my claims to congress, I nevertheless asked nothing which I did not know was strictly due to me, with interest on the sums from the time they became due till paid. Had the sums claimed been granted promptly, and in full extent, it is probable that I might have made such an arrangement with my creditors, by means thereof, with the aid of my property, as would have been satisfactory to them, and have retained a provision for my family:

But the rejection of a large portion of those claims, with the fall in the value of property, nearly one half of what it would have sold for ten or twelve years since, has had an effect which I did not anticipate.

It is a fair object of inquiry, when a citizen who has long and faithfully served his country, in important trusts and difficult conjunctions, has been injured in the settlement of his accounts for such service, or any portion of it, whereby he has sustained great and heavy losses, whether the mere payment of the sums thus withheld, with interest on them, is the only reparation which ought to be made to him; whether some indemnity is not due for the losses thus brought on him. Heretofore I have looked to no such object, because I was willing to bear the losses to which my zeal, in the service of my country, had exposed me, while I believed that my resources, with the aid of such allowances, would enable me to fulfil my engagements, and retain a very limited support for my family: But under existing circumstances, I have no hesitation to declare, that I think that some such indemnity ought to be made to me.

JAMES MONROE.

Virginia, November, 1826.

REMARKS

ON

THE CLAIMS OF MR. MONROE,

REFERRED TO IN HIS MEMOIR.

Objections have been raised to the allowance of interest on Mr. Monroe's claims, and in several instances to the claims themselves, I propose to examine these objections, and in doing which I shall advert to the argument only, and not to the spirit with which the objections are urged, nor to the quarter whence they come. If well founded, they ought to have weight. If not, they ought to be disregarded.

It will be proper, in the proposed investigation, to proceed with the items, in the order in which they stand, commencing with those of the first mission. To do justice to the subject, a repetition of what has been already suggested, will be unavoidable. To comprehend the force of objections, the claim must be stated, and to repel them, the reasons which were advanced in its support, when presented, must be repeated. I shall, however, be as concise as the nature of the case will permit.

The first item in his claims for the first, is for compensation for the three months and twenty days, the term of his detention in France after his recall. To this it is objected, that the office having ceased, the compensation should cease also: that his delay in France, afterwards, was voluntary, and that, on the same principle, he might have claimed it for a year, if he had remained there that term. The fact was otherwise. Mr. M. was recalled, at a season, being in the winter, when it would have been dangerous to have sailed had he been able to have obtained a suitable vessel, in which to have embarked with his family. It is shewn, however, by the evidence of impartial and very respectable citizens, that such a vessel could not at that time

be procured. The ports of France were generally blockaded by British cruisers, and our commerce much interrupted otherwise, with that country. He was detained through the winter, by compulsion, and finally forced to go to the most distant port, that of Bordeaux, to find a vessel in which he could sail. To dismiss a minister from office, on a belief that he did not perform his duty, or was placed by circumstances, in a situation to be less able to perform it than others might, and at a period when he could not leave the country, and to take from him, during that term, the salary allowed to the office, thereby subjecting him to heavy expenses, which he could not avoid, bears on its face the strong mark of injustice. His claims rest on the principle, not of a resignation of his office, and voluntary delay in the country, for the term specified, but of a dismission from it, at a time when he could not leave the country. It appears that he never asked, or would accept any allowance for it, from any subsequent administration. That there never was a time when he thought it proper to bring it forward, sooner than that of which he availed himself, the period of his retirement from office; and that he would submit it then only to congress, who might examine it, on its merits, impartially, with a view to all the circumstances connected with it, and without reference to the individual concerned.

The second item claims an additional allowance for contingent expenses in that mission, and to which an objection is also raised. Mr. M. was allowed for the whole mission, only 110 dollars. It cannot be doubted, when the circumstances attending it are duly weighed, that not a single month elapsed, during the whole term, in which a larger sum was not expended. The crisis was unexampled in modern times. The ancient despotism had been overthrown, and the power transferred, by a sudden compulsion, to the people, who, unused to its exercise, had, with blind enthusiasm, committed it to leaders who quarrelled among themselves, those of the prevailing party cutting off the others, thereby disgracing the revolution, and sapping the foundation on which it rested. Every port of France was filled with our vessels, which had been seized, many of which had been condemned, and others were under trial. His predecessor, disregarded, had retired to the country. Our fellow-citizens were without resource, and in the most distressed and despondent state. He was, for a time, distrusted, and kept at a distance, by the Committee of Public Safety, in whom the executive power, in regard to foreign nations, was vested. On due consideration he passed the Committee, and addressed the Convention, by whom he was received on the next day, in the bosom of that body, in the presence, and amidst the acclamations, of many thousands. It was natural, after the distinguished reception thus given him, that his suffering countrymen should flock to his house for relief. The fact was so, as hundreds now living can testify, and in consequence whereof his duties were accumulated ten fold beyond the usual amount. He states that he

was forced to employ, through the whole of his mission, several assistant secretaries, and to rent a house for them, and to incur many other heavy expenses, the extent of which can readily be conceived, when the character of the epoch is regarded, and the state in which he found our affairs on his arrival there. The expenses which he incurred in regard to Thomas Paine alone were considerable. Would it have been proper for him to have suffered an individual, who had rendered such useful services in our revolution, to languish in prison, or to want the common necessaries of life, after obtaining his release? With Mr. Paine, Mr. M. was scarcely acquainted. The appeal to him, therefore, was in his official character only. For these expenses he asked nothing. Whether they ought to fall on him, or on the nation, others will decide. They ought, at least, to have weight in the decision on other claims. That no other minister of the United States was ever placed in such a situation; compelled to employ so many assistant secretaries for such a length of time; to rent a separate house for their accommodation, and otherwise exposed to such heavy contributions and expenses, is certain. To allow him, therefore, the sum only which has been allowed in other cases, would be manifestly unjust.

*The claims for the second mission consist of four items. The first is for interest on the outfit for that mission, for the term during which it was withheld, and to interest on the amount of that sum to the present time. I will ask, whether any minister was ever sent from the United States under circumstances which exposed him inevitably to such expenses? Whether an outfit was ever refused to any minister, before or since, who was employed in any mission? Other ministers, who were employed on official missions, were sent to a single power, with instruction to return as soon as the business on which they were sent should be concluded. They left their families at home, and were absent generally about a year, and in some instances a shorter term. For these missions, an outfit was always allowed to the ministers employed in them. Mr. M. on the contrary, was appointed to two powers at the same time, France and Spain, and informed that the state of affairs might require his long absence. He took his family with him, and was absent nearly five years, during which he represented his country with three powers, France and Spain, to which he was originally appointed, and likewise with Great Britain, moving occasionally from the one to the other. Great and unusual expenses were inseparable from such a mission, and that the withholding the outfit must have increased his difficulties, and subjected him to corresponding losses, is equally obvious.

It has, it is understood, been the practice of the government to advance to our ministers, in many instances, a portion of their salary in addition to their outfit, on their appointment. Leaving their homes,

* See Mr. Jefferson's Letter among the documents to be hereafter given.

their affairs, and many of them their professions, some aid might be necessary, even to those in the best circumstances, to enable them to do so in a satisfactory manner, and without loss. A quarter's salary would generally become due before they could reach their stations. An advance, at least, to that amount, seems reasonable and proper, and it is said that, on some occasions, and on special missions to a single power, a larger portion of the salary has been advanced, in addition to the outfit. If such allowance and extra advance would be proper in any instance, it would certainly have been so, in that in question. Mr. M. had sustained a considerable loss by his former mission, from which he had not recovered, and was hurried by the pressure of circumstances, and by the President, to his stations abroad, for which he sailed, without having previously visited his own home. But the outfit was refused, and no portion of the salary advanced. He was allowed his expenses to Paris, including those of a journey from his home to New York, and his expenses in travelling between the places at which he might be required to attend—that is, between Paris and Madrid, and for which expenses, $9,000 were advanced to him; a sum which it was presumed would be equivalent to those expenses, but not exceed them. With this advance, for which he was held accountable, in the manner stated, he was compelled to arrange his affairs, and hasten to New York, and then to France.

His appointment to England was not made when he left the United States, nor known to him until after the treaties with France for the cession of Louisiana had been concluded, and ratified by the French government, and despatched by Mr. Livingston and himself to their own, and after he had requested of the French government a passport for Madrid,* with intention to proceed thither, in obedience to his instructions, to negotiate a treaty for the cession of Florida. It was at that time, Mr. King having left England, that he received his appointment for London, with a discretionary power to proceed thither or not, as circumstances might make most advisable. Experiencing, at that moment, some difficulty with the French government respecting the proposed negotiation with Spain, and knowing that the success of the negotiation would essentially depend on the part the French government might take in it, whose aid had been promised, and which he was then assured should be afforded on a future occasion, he resolved to proceed forthwith to England, and to postpone his mission to Spain until the treaties with France should be received, and if approved be ratified by his government, and an order sent to him by it, on a thorough knowledge of all circumstances, to proceed to Spain. Accordingly, he proceeded to England, and the mission being stationary, and not a special one, an outfit was allowed as a thing of course. It was, however, special in all the circumstances connected with expense; for, expecting an order to proceed

* See letter to Mr. Talleyrand, May 19th, 1803, among the documents.

to Spain in a few months, he could make none of those arrangements which, as a stationary or resident minister, he might and doubtless would have done, to avoid it. He remained in England in that state fourteen months, when he received the order from his government to proceed to Madrid, and to take Paris in his route for the purpose stated, which he promptly obeyed, in the expectation of returning home through England, as soon as that mission should be concluded, after a delay of a few weeks at London, to conclude an important negotiation which had been commenced and left unfinished, on his departure for Spain.

For the sum which was advanced to Mr. M. on his appointment to this his second mission, he was held accountable, and he has accounted for it. As the advance was made on account of the expenses of his voyage and journey to Paris, and of his mission to Spain, and as his expenses on his arrival at Paris, where he was well known to all in power, would be great, the application of a large portion of it to his private concerns before his departure, could not fail to subject him to serious embarrassment on his arrival at his station. It is not contended that he failed either there or elsewhere, to apply the sums necessary to support the credit of the station, whence it must follow, as the salaries allowed to our ministers, especially to the principal powers, are altogether inadequate, being not even one fifth of the salaries which those powers respectively allow to their ministers, that he must have been straitened every where. That he was so at home, is apparent from the sale, if not the sacrifice of his property in his absence; and that he was so abroad, may fairly be inferred by the debts which now press on him, and which threaten to absorb the residue.

When Mr. Monroe's account was settled for this his second mission, it appears that for the mission to France, he was allowed nothing except his salary; that no allowance was made to enable him to settle his affairs at home before his departure, nor to bear his expenses from home to New-York, nor for his detention there for his instructions, and for his voyage and journey thence to Paris, nor for the heavy expenses incident to his arrival and residence in Paris during the negotiation, except the salary. The money which had been advanced to him for these latter objects, was diverted from them, and charged to his outfit to England, with which mission he was unacquainted, until all those expenses had been incurred. By the settlement in this mode, he was brought in debt rather more than nine thousand dollars. Had the settlement been made on the principle on which the money was advanced, making due allowance for those expenses, and for the sum paid for his passage in a vessel in which he did not sail, the balance, doubtless, would have been less by nearly three thousand dollars, which sum, whatever it might have been, would have been deducted, and by which the balance would have been reduced in equal amount. But, by allowing the outfit, in the

settlement, and thereby changing the principle on which the money was advanced, that sum was excluded, and in consequence, the balance augmented in equal degree. As he fell in debt at the time of the settlement, little more than the amount of the outfit, after charging him with every cent which he had received in his several missions, in satisfaction of which debt the outfit was then admitted, it follows that, if it had been advanced at the time of his appointment, he would have owed nothing, and would have avoided, in other respects, great embarrassment and loss. It is further to be observed, that if the sum expended in his journey and voyage to Paris, and the salary due him on his arrival there, are deducted from the amount advanced before he sailed, although the outfit had not been allowed, the accommodation afforded him by that advance would have been trifling. To withhold money from him, on a principle which was admitted to be untenable and given up; by the withholding of which he was brought in debt to the public, and to give to such debt the character of an outfit, which had been disclaimed and refused, and on such assumed character, to refuse interest on the outfit for the time it was withheld, and interest on the amount thereof, at the time it was allowed, from that time till paid, would appear strange. The injustice of it would be the greater, and more manifest, from the consideration that, if the proper allowance had been made when the account was settled for the extra expenses incident to his detention in England, the two years and four months after his return from Spain, the equity of which was then admitted, the government would have been considerably in his debt.

The difference between the allowance of the outfit at the time of his appointment, before his departure, and at the end of his mission, on the settlement of his account, and for the payment of a debt, besides the mortification of being placed in that state, may readily be conceived. Had it been allowed in the first stage, the money would have been his own. He would have been accountable to no one for the application of it, and he might have availed himself of it for his private engagements, as well as his public duties, according to a just calculation, and correct sense of the obligation in each instance. But, by refusing the outfit at the time of his appointment, on a principle of economy, and making the advance for special purposes, his hands were tied up in the use of it, and it may be distinctly seen from a detailed view of the account, as settled on his return, as well as by the effect produced on his property at home, that a small sum of the money advanced to him on his appointment, was applied to his private purposes. Although his expenses to Paris, and at Paris on his arrival, and in the negotiation, had been considerable, yet it appears, from a view of the account, when he received his appointment to England, that the public were indebted to him a portion of his salary, or rather, that he had not drawn for it on the bankers, from whom he was authorized to receive it. It appears also, that, at the end of

the year, while in England, although no allowance was made to him in the settlement, on the principle on which the money had been advanced before he sailed, and that advance was charged against him on a new principle, and applied to his outfit to England, that they were still indebted to him. It was by his long detention in England, before he received his order to proceed to Spain, and his detention there after his return from Spain, under the circumstances heretofore stated, that his expenses and debts accumulated to such an amount that the interest on the outfit and the amount of his other claims, if allowed, however liberally viewed, will fall far short of the demands against him, and for which he must pay, by the sale of his private property. Mr. Monroe never owed to his country one cent. On the contrary, his country has been indebted to him by the rules applicable to others, from his first mission to France, of 1794, to the present time, and no trifling sum, especially if the amount is estimated by the effect produced on his private property.*

To how many of the public servants, paymasters, quartermasters and others, does the government advance money, to enable them to satisfy the just claims of others, which they retain in their hands, in part, for years, and without demanding from them interest for it, or making any deduction from their just claims, on the settlement of their accounts, for such advances? When the nature of the trust which was committed to this individual, and more especially its importance, are considered, of which a just idea may be formed by a perusal of the letter of Mr. Jefferson, then President, who kindly permitted it to be communicated to the Committee, does it not appear that the motive was peculiarly urgent for making a very liberal advance to him? And if the advance made was from motives of economy, which are always commendable, especially in a republic, more limited than had ever been made to any other minister, in times and under circumstances, in all respects more favourable, can any just cause be assigned, why the injury resulting from it, so far, at least, as to place him on a footing with others, with the common allowance of interest on the sum withheld, should not be repaired? It should be recollected that this appointment had not been sought nor expected, that he was taken from the bar, to which he had just returned, and with a fair prospect of success, after having served his native state, the constitutional term of three years, in the office of chief magistrate, and under circumstances of great difficulty, arising from his former mission.

On the second item of this the second mission, the claim being for money paid for a passage, engaged in a vessel in which he did not sail, no comment need be made; nor need there be any on the third,

*See Colonel Lewis's letter among the documents. I met him by accident on a late visit to Albemarle, and requested him to state the amount of the money, which I advanced to him on my departure from the United States, on my last mission, the sum which would have prevented the sale of my property in my absence, the price received for it, and the present prices, which he has done.

which relates to the contingent expenses of that mission. He claims only, in the latter instance, a corresponding allowance with that which was made to Mr. King, under circumstances more favourable to economy, Mr. King having been there a large portion of his time in peace; whereas, during the whole term of Mr. Monroe's service, war prevailed. It is known that a state of peace is more favourable to economy than a state of war, in all contingent expenses, and indeed in every other, and especially in the article of postage, which is very heavy in England. The full allowance made to Mr. King, is, therefore, deemed only a fair one to Mr. Monroe.

The fourth and last item is for extraordinary expenses incurred by his detention in England, after his return from Spain, two years and four months, by which, having the permission of the President to return home, and being prepared to do it, from month to month, he was exposed to the greatest degree of expense that any mission could be subjected to. The causes of detention, as enumerated by him, and known to the Union, were such as would have made it highly improper for him to have sailed sooner than he did, had he had a vessel engaged and waiting for him at the port the whole time. The seizure of our vessels, by an order founded on the principle of that of November, 1793, and against which he remonstrated, in the most decisive terms was one. A negotiation ensued, which he could not abandon. The special mission, on the result of which the peace of the Union hung, was another. The attack on the Chesapeake, to which his attention was drawn by his government, and which involved consequences not less serious, was a third. Had he withdrawn at such a crisis, neglecting these high concerns of his country, be the expense attending his detention what it might, he would have incurred and merited the censure of his fellow-citizens, throughout the Union. Shall these extra expenses fall on him, or be defrayed by the public? The fact is they have fallen on him, and are among the causes of a like kind, which have subjected him to debts and losses, for which the reparation claimed cannot indemnify him. This claim was presented in 1810, when his account was settled, and, as is stated, the equity being admitted, was suspended, by the order of the President, for further consideration, and has never been acted on since. Mr. Monroe was soon afterwards called into the department of state, in which he had official cognizance of the subject. From that office he was elected President, by which event his power over it was augmented. It requires no argument to prove, that during the whole time of his service in these offices, he could not touch the subject. We see, on the contrary, by the documents reported, that he would decide on no claim which involved the same principle with his own.

Such are the claims of Mr. Monroe, and the ground on which they rest; and it is not perceived on what sound principle they, or either of them, can be rejected, with the interest on each, from the time that it became due till paid. If injustice was done to him, by withholding the

money to which he was entitled, in any instance, no good cause can be assigned, for refusing to render justice to him at this time. Was any allowance made to him, in other instances, in his missions, or was more expended by him, in any branch of his services, than was expended, in a like service, by others? Nothing of the kind can be alleged with truth. No accommodation was afforded to him, in any instance, which was not afforded to every other minister, and the utmost economy was practised by him throughout his several missions, which was practicable. He claims only to be put on a footing with others, under circumstances which exposed him to greater expenses than they, and in the instances in which a difference was made to his prejudice, simply by the payment of the money, which, on that principle, was due, with interest on it from the time it became due till paid. He does not ask an indemnity for losses, sustained by the withholding the money from him in the way of damages, however just the claim might be. What that would amount to has not been stated, but it may be shown that it would be great. Nor has he asked compound interest, which he has been compelled to pay himself.

As to the period at which the interest should commence on well founded claims, that seems to be too obvious, and is too well established in transactions between individuals in private life, to admit a doubt. When did the money become due, if due at all? Where was he at the time, and on what account did it become due? Each item speaks for itself. Those of the first mission became due for the contingencies, annually, and for his detention in France during the winter, when he could not leave the country, at the time he sailed, which was on the 20th of April, 1797. Those of the second mission, on the outfit withheld, from the time of his appointment till paid or allowed. On the payment of Mr. Hicks, for the passage engaged for him and his family in a vessel in which they did not sail, from the date of the payment made to him. For the contingencies in England, and expenses incurred by his detention after his return from Spain, annually for the one, and on the termination of his mission in the other; though I am inclined to think that it should be annually in both. At those periods, the money claimed was expended by him, and much more, and, not having the funds himself, was borrowed, and is still due, on which he has paid an interest, simple and compound, for a great part of the sum, through the whole intervening space. To fix the commencement of the interest allowed to him to later periods, would not be to render to him justice, especially after so long a delay. He was in France, or England, when the money was expended, and he could not meet the expenses, nor get home, without borrowing it, nor borrow without paying the interest on it.

Such claims should not be settled by the ordinary rules which apply to transactions at home, because the situation of the party is different, and in circumstances of peculiar interest to the country as well as to the individual. The character of our republic, which is looked

at with jealousy, by the monarchs of Europe, is connected, not only with the official conduct of the minister, but with every incident attending him while there. For the errors, and even the vices, of the ministers of each other, liberal allowances are made, but no such indulgence is shown to us. He must support the rank of the station while at their respective courts, and until his retirement from their countries, or his nation will be degraded. Simplicity at home, even among the most wealthy of our citizens, is commendable. The spirit of our government requires it. But in our intercourse with foreign powers, in the grade in question, some accommodation with the usages of each, in their respective countries, is necessary. To depart from it is deemed a contempt, and cannot fail to be productive of injury. The burden of these charges fell with great force on Mr. Monroe in his last mission. A minister to a single power may, after establishing himself, retire from society if he chooses, and, supporting a decent appearance when forced into it, may sustain his credit. But one who is minister at the same time to three of the principal powers of Europe, and who moves from one to the other, is always in the circle of those who compose the court of each, and exposed, in consequence, and by necessity, to the greatest expense possible.

The act of limitation has been urged as an objection to these claims, but can it be plead against a person who has been almost the whole of his time in the service of his country, and a large portion of it, when not abroad, in stations which rendered it impossible for him to touch the subject? Can the act of limitation ever be plead by the government in its own favour, to justify a refusal to repair an injury done by itself, especially to an individual who has refrained, from delicacy and a regard to principle only, to press his claims? Could he have refused to obey the voice of his country, in any instance, when called on, and have assigned as a reason, that money was due to him for former services, and until that was paid he would render none other? Was it not rather his duty to obey the call; and is it not fair to presume that he would have obeyed it, in the difficult conjunctures in which he has served, be the effect on his claims what it might? Did not such call wave any plea of this kind, even had it been well founded?

To enumerate the large amount of salaries which Mr. Monroe has received, in the important offices which he has held, is only to show the great length of time which he has served. Were the salaries intended for the profit of the individual, or to support the credit of the office? If the latter, to retire from office under the pressure of heavy debts, is a proof that he was not unmindful of what he owed his country. That he held more offices than many others, is owing to the generous confidence of his fellow citizens; for it is certain that he has been called to those of high importance, in his absence and without his knowledge, of which several examples might be given, if it were necessary to enter into the subject in that view. One he no-

ticed in the observations which he presented to the committee at the last session, because he deemed it material to his claim. Beyond that he did not go. To have devoted his services to his country, almost the whole of his life, from very early youth in the highest offices, and at the most dangerous epochs, unprofitable to himself, is all that could be expected of any citizen. To have his private property, which he held before he entered into those offices, swept from him, at the expiration of his service, for the payment of debts contracted, under the circumstances stated, is an injury to which no citizen ought to be subjected.

In Mr. Monroe's first mission to France, some incidents occurred which could not fail to prove a cause of serious affliction to him, and to which it may not be improper to advert here. In consideration of the divisions which prevailed among us, at that very interesting epoch, and the part he had acted in them, he accepted a trust which exposed him, in the discharge of its duties, to the jealousy and suspicion of those with whom he had differed in political sentiment; while, on the other hand, he was bound, as well by self respect as a regard to principle, to maintain the character which he had held before he accepted it. He had the most unbounded confidence in the integrity and patriotism of the President, as he likewise had in his desire to administer the government on its principles, and to give it a fair experiment. He had equal confidence in his attachment to those principles, and in his desire that it might succeed. A stroke from him, therefore, could not fail to be deeply felt. He nevertheless made, in moments of calm reflection, a just allowance for the difficulty of the situation in which he had been placed, by the course of events, and cherished for him, especially after the report made to him by Dr. Edwards, founded on a conference with the President, that his honour and integrity had not been suspected, the same feelings and profound respect which he had formed for him when a youth, and a subaltern under him, in our revolutionary contest. Mr. M. was soon afterwards called to the government of his own State, and it was his intention, as his motive could not then have been suspected, to have made advances to him, but was shocked, as he entered Richmond, by the melancholy account of his death.

That Mr. M. did full justice to his country, and to the principles and character of the President, seems to be admitted. If any doubt remained of it, it must, it is presumed, be removed by the documents now furnished and which, although he has long possessed them, were never used before.

In connexion with this interesting portion of his service, and period of his life, it seems proper to notice another incident, the nature of which was much misrepresented at the time. After the distinguished reception which was given to him, by the National Convention, in the hall of that assembly, the Committee of Public Safety offered to him a house for his accommodation, as the Minister of the United

States, in any part of Paris which he would designate. They sent to him, at the same time a carriage and horses, which were appropriated to his use. The house he promptly declined, on the principle that the acceptance of it was forbidden by an article of our Constitution. The carriage and horses he retained a few weeks, and then returned them, with a request that he might be permitted to pay for their use, in the same manner as if they had been furnished by an individual, and that permission might also be granted to him to purchase other horses, which, under the existing laws of France, was then necessary. Both requests were granted, as the original documents, presented to the committee, will shew. Shortly after this, a house was offered to him by an individual for sale, and which, on the best advice he could obtain there, at the time, of his fellow citizens and others, he purchased; declaring publicly that he bought it for his use as Minister of the United States, and with intention to offer it to his government, when he should retire, on the same conditions that he had bought it. Having refused the house that had been offered to him, and requested permission to pay, and having paid, for the use of the horses which had been sent to him, he was fearful that the temper which had been manifested on his arrival might be revived, and have an ill effect, which he indulged a hope that this step would prevent. He resided in that house until the termination of his mission; at which time, being recalled, and his successor, for whom he had a high respect, not being received, the existing relations between his government and himself, and between the two countries, rendered such offer altogether improper.

Thus circumstanced, he sold the house for somewhat more than he gave for it, including the expenses of repair, of which sum half the amount stipulated only was paid, a claim being set up under a lien on the property, or a part of it, as was believed, fraudulently, to extort money from him, knowing that he must leave the country, whereby the payment of the balance was thus prevented. To enable him to leave the country, as soon as he could procure a passage home, he borrowed the amount of a fellow citizen, a friend, giving him a power to receive the balance when paid, if ever, with a mortgage on a tract of land in Clay county, Kentucky, of 20,000 acres, and a power to sell it; if necessary, whenever that necessity should arrive. In that state the affair has since rested, the importance of the concerns committed to him, in his next mission, and their pressure in different countries not allowing him time to look into it. The land, however, has remained since that period appropriated to that object, and no hope is now entertained that it will ever be relieved from it.

By this view it will appear that Mr. M. has not only derived no emolunmet from his public offices, but has suffered much by them; while it is presumed that it will be equally manifest, however great his suffering has been, that he has not been diverted from his public duties by considerations of a private nature.

To occurences of more recent date some attention is now due, not with a view to pecuniary indemnity, but to an object of infinitely higher importance, in the estimation through life, that of his character, which it is known has been assailed in some of these occurrences. During the last fourteen years, he has held offices in the Federal City, and has resided there in the departments of state and war, and in the office of chief magistrate. He will touch on those points only on which attacks have been made, and for the sole purpose of explanation and vindication, not to boast of services, nor of the manner in which they were rendered: for those are points which are left to the important judgment of his fellow citizens, and of posterity. On his conduct in the department of state, no attack has been made, and of course no defence of it is necessary. To the department of war he was called twice, the first on the resignation of Mr. Eustis, when he held it about six weeks. The second, on the resignation of General Armstrong; from which time he held it to the end of the war. He came into it, in the latter instance, after the fall of Washington, and not before it, and not at his own instance, or by his desire, but at that of the President, who was well acquainted with his conduct in what related to the military occurrences of that epoch, and likewise at the instance of his fellow citizens of the surrounding country, who earnestly wished and pressed it. With his exertions to save the city and country, after the enemy landed at Benedict, the whole of the District, and it may be said of the neighbouring community, were acquainted. He acted as a volunteer, without authority, but he rendered all the service that he could render as a citizen. The facts relating to that occurrence have been often misrepresented, and the misrepresentation being generally known, has, on that account, been disregarded. But it is due to the cause of truth, and to the character of the then President, as well as to that of Mr. M. and others, that a faithful digest of them be made, and be preserved. There is not one important fact connected with that event, from the landing of the enemy at Benedict, to his entrance into the city, which cannot be proved by some hundreds, if not thousands of citizens, who were spectators thereof, and it is important that the digest be now made and proved, the parties being now living, that it may be handed down to posterity in its true character.

After this distressing and mortifying event occurred, Mr. M. was invited by the President into the Department of War, and he accepted it, resigning his office as Secretary of the Department of State, whose duties he had discharged to the satisfaction of the President, and of the country, and in which he risked nothing, and accepted one which subjected him to the highest degree of responsibility that it was possible for him to be exposed to. The Department of State was then offered to Governor Tomkins, who declined it, on a belief that his services would be more useful to his country, in the office which he then held as Governor of the State of New York. Col. M. was

in consequence charged by the President, under a law which authorized him to make temporary appointments, with the Department of State also. Is there any point in his conduct, in the Department of War, on which an attack can be made and supported? Such attack is invited, as it has been, and is now repeated, on his whole conduct in all the offices which he has held through life. If made, let the Generals now living, who commanded at the different sections of our Union which were invaded by powerful armies of the enemy, be appealed to, and asked, if any thing was neglected on his part, necessary to give effect to their splendid operations? With their answers he will be satisfied.

At the expiration of the term of his illustrious and virtuous predecessor, he was elected to the office of Chief Magistrate, which he held eight years, and, on his conduct in that office, some attacks have been made, of which notice will likewise now be taken.

He was denounced for the inspection which he made of our maritime and inland frontiers, to enable him to decide, with greater competency, on the reports which might be made to him by the Board which had been instituted by the government, as to the positions at which our fortifications should be erected for military and naval purposes. Nothing was more natural, after his election, than that he should make that inspection; having had experience in our revolutionary war; having seen works of the kind in Europe; and having also had experience in the late war. It could not fail to draw the attention of the nation forcibly to the object, nor could it fail to give an useful stimulus to the officers who were engaged in those works. For such an inspection our General Officers, who make it annually over their respective districts, are rewarded; and it cannot be doubted, regarding the epoch and the object, that it was equally necessary, and the duty of the Chief Magistrate, then to make it.

In his missions abroad, in which he saw that we were incessantly menaced with war by some of the principal powers in Europe, his attention had been drawn to the defenceless condition of our coast with deep interest, and it may be recollected that, in signing the treaty with England, he considered that treaty as the alternative to war, and that the defenceless condition of the coast was among his strong motives for signing it.* War afterwards ensued with that power, and the waste and desolation of the coast, the loss of the lives of our citizens by exposures and otherwise, were fresh in his memory. It cannot be doubted, if our coast had been well fortified before the war commenced, that these calamities would have been greatly diminished, and, in the expenses attending it, thirty or forty millions of dollars, at least, would have been saved. No blame is attached to any one, that these fortifications had not been erected

* See his letter to the Secretary of State, Richmond, February 28, 1808—State Papers, vol. 6th. page 426.

before. They had been recommended by all his predecessors, but their recommendations, except those of his immediate predecessor, under whom the system was commenced with new vigour, were not aided by the admonitions derived from the late war. It was to gain the knowledge necessary to enable him to discharge with propriety his own duties, and to give a new stimulus to these important objects, that he made that inspection. It will be recollected, that he made it at his own expense, and that, in so doing, he availed himself of the only resource then at his command, by applying it to an useful and necessary purpose of the government, and at a fair equivalent, leaving the transaction under the control of Congress, as it still is; and that, for so doing, the most mortifying abuse has been bestowed on him, and, it may be added, considering the source from whence it came, and the manner of the proceeding, no slight degree of persecution.

It is proper to observe that, while acting in the Department of War, and especially in the interval between the resignation of Mr. Campbell and the acceptance and establishment of Mr. Dallas in the Department of the Treasury, he had a great agency, as stated, in the observations which he presented to the committee at the last session, in obtaining loans of money, and in the application thereof, in the course of the war, to the support of our military operations. By reference to the documents in the Department of War, it will be found, that that agency, which was carried in many instances to actual loans, amounted to several millions of dollars, and for which service, although his duties, already great, were to an oppressive degree augmented by it, he never asked one cent. It is a service, however, which forces itself to his recollection at this time, and which, in his opinion, ought not to be lost sight of in the consideration of claims which he deems just, when resting on their separate and intrinsic merits.*

*See Mr. Ringgold's Deposition—printed in last report of the Committee.

DOCUMENTS

ILLUSTRATING AND SUPPORTING

THE VIEWS URGED BY MR. MONROE,

IN HIS MEMOIR AND REMARKS.

WITH SUCH PRELIMINARY AND EXPLANATORY NOTES AS ARE NECESSARY TO THEIR PROPER UNDERSTANDING.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO MR. MONROE'S FIRST MISSION TO FRANCE.

[Mr. Skipwith accompanied Mr. Monroe to France in this mission, as Secretary. The state of our commerce there, on Mr. Monroe's arrival, and the pressure on him requiring the aid of a consul, and one with whom he was acquainted, and in whose rectitude and decision he could confide, he appointed Mr. Skipwith provisionally, to that office, and in which he was confirmed by the President. Mr. M. made this appointment with the greater confidence, because he had taken him as Secretary, on the suggestion of Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State, that it would be gratifying to the President if he did so.—With others whom Mr. M. then employed as assistant Secretaries, was M. Gouvain, the author of the following document, who spoke both languages very correctly. Mr. M. took him on the recommendation of many of our respectable citizens, who were connected in commerce with his family, a very respectable one at Havre. He remained with Mr. M. nearly two years, attended him in many interviews with the French government, and the members individually who composed it, and was very useful.]

MR. GOUVAIN'S LETTER.

I owe it to my own conscience to show the great injustice which has been done to Mr. Monroe, by the imputations which have been raised against his conduct and intentions, during his mission to the French Republic.

From the time of my appointment as Mr. M.'s Secretary to the epoch at which my domestic affairs compelled me to relinquish the office of Secretary, which I held near this Minister, I had it in my power to follow all his measures with the greatest accuracy, because I lived constantly with him, and assisted as interpreter in all the conferences which took place between him and the French government, and translated not only the official but private notes, which he presented to that government, and likewise all those which he received, without exception.

To confound the calumniators of Mr. Monroe, as Minister of the United States to the French Republic, it will be sufficient to go back to the epoch of his arrival in France, and to retrace the actual state of the political relations which then existed between the two governments. The French government was never nearer a rupture with the United States, than it then was. A considerable number of American vessels had then been seized by French privateers, and carried into their ports; many cargoes had been condemned, and many crews imprisoned. In fine, the treaty of 1778, with the United States of America, had been broken in such a manner by the French, that it might be considered as annulled.

Such was the state of affairs when Mr. Monroe arrived in France, and nothing less than the unwearied zeal, and great prudence which he displayed in these circumstances, could have succeeded to obtain the reparation of the infractions made by the French, of the treaty of 1778. Not only did he succeed in obtaining of the French government an indemnity to the American merchants and captains, for the detention of their vessels, crews, &c. &c. but by the firmness which he shewed, and the consideration which he observed towards the committees of the government, he finished, by restoring to its full vigor, and in full extent, the treaty of friendship and commerce of 1778; a treaty which, as is well known, could not be more advantageous to the enemies of France, as one of its articles stipulated, that the property acknowledged to belong to an enemy, found on board an American vessel, should be respected in the same manner, as if it belonged to American citizens. This act was the more generous on the part of the French government, from the consideration that at this epoch, the English did not hesitate to seize almost every American vessel on the slightest suspicion that they were charged on French account, as was seen, especially in the trade with the West Indies.

To give a just idea of the difficulties which Mr. Monroe had to surmount, to obtain an object so desirable for the prosperity of the United States, that of restoring the confidence and friendship which had before existed between the two governments, it is essential to state the personal dispositions of the members of the Convention, who composed then the diplomatic section of the French government. How many scenes have I not witnessed, in which Mr. Monroe has been

forced to hear the most cutting sarcasms against his government and its members! With what warmth has he not defended them, and what means has he not employed to calm their spirits! Threillard, Thuriott, and Merlin de Douay, composed then the diplomatic section of the Committee of Public Safety. One cited advice received from America, from the French agents, who complained bitterly of the injustice which they said was committed daily against the French, by the administrative departments, and as they concluded in accord with the spirit of their government, who protected, to the utmost of their ability, the English party, to the prejudice of the French. Others reproached, openly, the Americans, of indifference for France in a war, in which they seemed to insinuate, that the United States ought to lend them assistance, and especially by loans of money. At length they charged the Americans with the blackest ingratitude towards France, for the important services rendered in the conquest of their independence, which they said could not have been obtained without the aid which France had given them.

In one of the conferences, that which mortified Mr. Monroe beyond all expression, was the opinion which they declared respecting the President, General Washington. They painted him as a man intoxicated with ambition, and who would finish by usurping soon all the powers with which he was invested. They reproached this President, more especially, with having shewn a marked partiality for the declared enemies of France; with having received with zeal into his house French emigrants; and they declared how much they were disgusted by his preservation in his apartments with the greatest care, the portrait of Lewis XVI.

It was then that Mr. Monroe raised himself with the greatest firmness, with which he was inspired by his esteem for a man whose virtue and patriotism had, till then, commanded the admiration of the whole world, and for whom he had personally the greatest veneration. He called to mind the services which General Washington had rendered to liberty; the sacrifices which he had made in that cause, and, above all, the acknowledged morality of his principles. He used arguments the most persuasive, to convince the Committee of the friendly disposition of the President for France, and of the sincerity of the declarations which he had made in his name, at the time of his admission into the bosom of the National Convention.

Animated with an unceasing desire to serve his country, and to preserve to it peace, Mr. Monroe was not restrained by any of these obstacles, but continued with the greatest courage to press the Committee to accede to his just reclamations. Each day he gained ground, and soon conciliated the esteem and personal friendship of the members of the committee. He did not fail to turn this happy incident to the advantage of his mission, and availing himself often of personal conferences, at one time with one of the members of the committee, and at another with others, in spite of the repugnance

which these last shewed, in consequence of the difference which existed in the political views between him and them, he forced them in some measure to hear him, and to change their opinion in favour of the United States. He often spoke to them of the perfect union which ought to exist between the two nations, and of the mutual advantage which would result from it to both, in a political as well as in a commercial point of view.

It was by occupying himself, without ceasing, that he succeeded so happily in disposing the Committee of Public Safety to favour the American government, and his difficulties were the greater from the consideration, that the members of the committee being changed every three months, he was obliged to renew his efforts with the new members upon every change. The diplomatic section of the committee was composed alternately of Seyes, Reubell, Thuriot, Merlin De Douay, and others, little disposed, as I must admit, in favour of the Americans.

It is proper to observe, that, at this epoch, the innumerable victories that were gained by the armies of France, over their powerful enemies, astonished the universe, and that the political situation of France left no doubt of the complete establishment of the republican system in that country. Holland, Spain, and the greater part of the dominions of the Emperor, were ready to fall into the hands of this growing republic, and all foreboded the influence which it would obtain, in the political balance. Mr. Monroe had then to treat with conquerors, who, proud of their success, adopted in their expressions and conduct, a fierceness which it is difficult to express. The negotiation, in consequence, was difficult for Mr. Monroe, who preserved always on his side, the dignity which became the representative of a great people. Nevertheless, the more brilliant the successes of France were, the more this Minister felt the necessity of conciliating their friendship and good offices.

All these difficulties were now removed, and Mr. Monroe began to enjoy, in peace, the fruits of his labours, when a question arose respecting the treaty of Mr. Jay, with the cabinet of London. This intelligence revived immediately the jealousy of the French government, who, without knowing the contents of the treaty, considered the act alone as an outrage to France. The Committee of Public Safety expressed loudly its surprise to Mr. Monroe: who, on his side, not knowing the contents of the treaty, was obliged to confine himself for a long time, in assuring the members of the committee, that it was altogether improbable that the American government had committed any act which could alter the friendship which existed between France and the United States. But by the reasons which he urged to calm their spirits, it was impossible for him to succeed, and the members of the committee on this occasion, pushed their remarks to the point of manifesting their distrust of Mr. Monroe himself. They

appeared to be convinced that he knew the contents of the treaty, and had orders to conceal them.

It was about this period that I quitted Mr. Monroe, and I recollect that in the last conference at which I assisted, the members of the committee received the minister very coldly, and that the answer which they gave this time to his observations, was short and dry. It was Reubell who spoke, and he expressed himself to the following effect: "It will be useless (said he) citizen minister, for you to give yourself further trouble to persuade us, that the treaty made by Mr. Jay is not repugnant to the interest of France. We know perfectly on whom we ought to rely, respecting the disposition of the American government in regard to us, and you may abstain from entertaining us in future on the subject of that treaty. The only part which we have to act in this circumstance, is to be patient and not to be forgetful."

From this epoch, the coolness of the French government for the Americans augmented; and it is evident that the recall of Mr. Monroe, far from conciliating it and removing difficulties, had the effect only of putting the two governments at a greater distance from each other, to the injury of both nations, and of their commerce.

Such are the facts of which I have knowledge, and to the truth of which I can bear witness. There remains nothing for me to add; for I think that I have said enough to serve as an answer to the malevolent, who have persisted to blame the conduct and intentions of Mr. Monroe during his mission to the French government. I have thought it my duty to make this declaration, and I desire, with all my heart, that it may contribute to make known to the Americans in general, the great injustice that has been done to Mr. Monroe, by the imputations raised against him, and the depth of the malignity of his enemies.

M. A. GOUVAIN.

Paris, 2d of April, 1797.

[After the intercourse of Mr. Monroe with the French government was suspended, he requested of Major Mountflorence, who had occasion to pass through the different offices of the government daily, to collect what information he could of the views of the government towards the United States, and to report the same to him, which he did.]

LETTERS OF MAJOR MOUNTFLORENCE.

Sir: I proposed doing myself the honour of waiting on you this morning in order to communicate what I have been able to collect respecting the forwarding of the orders to America, whereof you have been informed, but am prevented so doing by a very sore foot.

Early this morning I was at the office, and find that the packet is made up, and remains in *statu quo.* Positive orders to fix its departure are not yet given, but the former ones are not rescinded. They propose to inform you officially of their purport only eight days after they shall be sent off. I shall be on the watch to gather any other information on that matter which I may be able to attain; but I hope that, whilst there is time for a reconsideration, that the measure may be laid aside, or other incidents may turn up, and reflections in the meanwhile may occur to the promoters of this plan which may induce them to think better of it.

With great respect, I have the honour to be, sir, yours, &c.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

9th Fructidor, (Aug 26th)—4th year.

TUESDAY, 30th AUGUST

SIR: I saw a person last evening, who assured me he believed the despatches were gone. They are sent to America by an aviso, armed for that purpose, which has been ready for sea for some time past. The government pretends, that through you only they have been delayed, for near eight months, taking their measures, which they say are consistent with the dignity of their nation, and to the general plan they have adopted. They do not censure you for it; on the contrary, allow that you have well served your government, &c. &c. &c. It seems to me that their determination is fixed, and nothing more is to be done than wait for events, which may induce them to adopt another system less prejudicial to the connexion between our two contries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

9th VENDEMIARE, 5th YEAR.

SIR: I have seen General Clarke's commission. It is signed by the Minister Gennet, at Philadelphia, 12th July, 1793, and, therefore, posterior to the President's proclamation.

By this day's mail I have wrote to Mr. Le Ray, that it would be best for him to take passports from the government of Berne, duly legalized by Citizen Berthelemy, the French minister in Switzerland.

The person I had the honour to speak to you about yesterday, intimates an apprehension that they have it in contemplation to notify to

you officially, that, having recalled their minister near the United States, they could no longer communicate officially with you. I hope, and I believe, that this apprehension is entirely groundless; as, in fact, if such an event was to take place, it would indicate a full determination to push matters to extremities, which I suppose it is the interest of both countries to avoid.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

Extract of a letter from Dr. E. Edwards to Mr. Monroe.

FRANKFORD, APRIL 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Of what related to your conduct about Mr. Paine's writing against General Washington, I mentioned to him since my return. He thanked me for the information, and added, that, as to Mr. Monroe, he believed him to be a man of honour, and always thought so.

NOTE.—DR. EDWARDS travelled at this period, through great part of England, and carried with him letters from General WASHINGTON to some of his correspondents, and particularly to ARTHUR YOUNG. Soon after the arrival of Mr. Monroe in France, he came over and staid most of his time in Paris near him, until late in 1796; when he returned home. He had acted as a volunteer in the campaign of 1777, after the enemy took possession of Philadelphia, and was, with Mr. MONROE, an aid in the family of LORD STIRLING, particularly in the battle of Brandywine. His letter extends to many other instances in which Mr. M. was then traduced, of which it is now deemed unnecessary to take notice, and therefore, this extract alone is published.

The Commissary of Foreign Affairs to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

PARIS, 4TH TRUCTICIER, 2D YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC.

CITIZEN: After having received the representatives of our ally, with the most distinguished marks of affection, the government of the republic desires to do every thing which depends on it, to make his residence in France agreeable to him. With this view the Committee of Public Safety authorizes me to offer you, in the name of the republic, a national house for your accommodation. I pray you, therefore, to make known to me your intentions in this respect, as likewise to designate the quarter which will be most agreeable to you.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, to the Commissary of Foreign Relations for the French Republic.

PARIS, AUGUST 22, 1794.

CITIZEN: I was favoured yesterday with yours of that date, informing me that the Committee of Public Safety had authorized you, in the name of the Republic, to appropriate a house for my use, as minister of their ally, the United States of America, and in such a part of the city as I should designate. I received this communication with peculiar satisfaction, because I consider it a proof of the sincere regard which the Committee entertain for their ally, whose servant I am. But upon this occasion I am not permitted to indulge, in any respect, my own opinion or feelings. The Constitution of my country, an extract from which is hereto annexed, has prescribed a line of conduct for me, which it is my duty to follow.

The Committee of Public Safety and you, citizen, respect too highly the fundamental laws of your own country, not to approve my reason for declining the kind offer you have made me. I shall however, immediately communicate it to my government, and doubt not, it will produce there the good effect it merits.

Extract from the Constitution of the United States.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust, under them, shall without the consent of Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatsoever, from any King, Prince or Foreign State.

Copy of a letter from the Committee of Public Safety to James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, 14th Vendemiarie, 2d year of the French Republic.

We hasten, citizen, to answer the letter which you addressed to us the 12th of this month, relative to the horses which you required for your use. Our answer is contained in the decree which we have adopted, and of which a copy is enclosed.

[Signed by the members of the Committee of Public Safety.]

Extract from the Register of the Decrees of the Committee of Public Safety, 14th of Vendemiarie, second year of the French Republic.

The Committee of Public Safety having seen the letter of James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, of the 12th of this month, decrees, that the commission of transposts,

posts and passengers, be hereby authorized to sell to the said James Monroe four horses, at the price fixed by the law, relative to *maximum*, and to liquidate with him the expense of the horses belonging to the Republic, which he has employed to the present day.

[Signed by the members of the Committee of Public Safety.]

AFFIDAVITS RESPECTING THE HOUSE AT PARIS, PURCHASED BY MR. MONROE FOR THE EMBASSY.

The undersigned hereby certifies and declares, that some short time after his arrival at Paris, in 1794, with, and a secretary to James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, he the said James Monroe did enter into the purchase, and occupancy, of a certain mansion house and pleasure ground, from one Mr. Foulon, and as the undersigned did then and does still believe, from the desire and intention often to the undersigned expressed, of offering the same as the fit and permanent residence, in future, of the United States' Ministers near the French government. The undersigned moreover declares that, during the whole of his long residence in Paris from an intimate intercourse on the subject with said Monroe's agent, Daniel Parker, he was and continues under the belief that said Monroe must sustain a loss of one half of the amount for which the said house was sold on account of some lien, or defect, imposed on him, in the original titles.

Given under my hand writing and signature at Montesano, near Baton Rouge, this 12th day October, 1825.

FULWAR SKIPWITH.

CONSULAT AMERICAN.

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, and on the sixth day of August, personally appeared at the Consular General's Office of the United States of America, at Paris, before me James Cole Mountflorence, Chancellor to the aforesaid Consultee, and Notary Public duly sworn, Walter Burling, Esq. and William W. Norris, Esq. both citizens of the United States, who being both sworn, depose and say that they have severally resided at Paris for a year past; that during such their residence, they have been in constant habits of intercourse with James Monroe, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, near the French Republic; that they severally believe that the said James Monroe, during his residence in France has totally confined himself to his diplomatic functions, and that the said James Monroe has not been spec-

ulating in the lands or funds of this country, either directly or indirectly; that the said James Monroe has purchased a house, which he now occupies, and that it is the only property in France they know him to possess, and further these deponents say not.

W. BURLING,
WM. W. MORRIS.

Sworn to before me,
J. C. MOUNTFLORENCE.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

The undersigned having resided in France during the years 1796 and 1797, and having had the honour of being acquainted in the family of Mr. Monroe, the then minister from the United States of America, near the French Republic, certifies that during the above-mentioned period Mr. Monroe lived in a house which the undersigned knows he purchased with the intention and view of persuading the government of the United States to take it at what it cost, it being a suitable house for their Minister to occupy; that he frequently heard Mr. Monroe say he should offer it to the United States for that purpose; that Mr. Monroe purchased said house and grounds about it of an individual, and not of the nation, it being an unconfiscated patrimonial estate, and not a national domain; that the said minister when recalled, was under the necessity, before he could leave Paris; of selling said estate, which he did, and for a sum not much exceeding, if any, the amount of the original purchase, with interest and repairs added thereto.

WILLIAM LEE.

Boston, February 5th, 1801.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Boston, ss.

On this fifth day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and one, before me, William Stevenson, Notary Public, by legal authority admitted and sworn, and dwelling in Boston aforesaid, and a Justice of the Peace for the county of Suffolk, personally came and appeared William Lee, and in due form of law made solemn oath to the truth of the annexed certificate by him subscribed.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed
[L. S.] my Notarial Seal, the day and year above written.

WILLIAM STEVENSON,
Notary Public and Justice Peace.

AFFIDAVIT OF GENERAL HULL, Feb. 13, 1801.

NEWTON, MASSACHUSETTS, FEBRUARY 8th, 1801.

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This may certify that I was in Paris in the year A. D. 1795, when Mr. Monroe was the minister of the United States, near the French Republic. That some time in the month of March, or the beginning of April, Mr. Monroe informed me he had purchased an house, with a few acres of ground about it, and asked me to go with him and see it. I accordingly went and was much pleased with it. Mr. Monroe then observed that it was with reluctance that he had made the purchase, as the payment was attended with some inconvenience to him; and that no consideration would have induced him to have done it, but that he considered it a suitable situation for the minister of the United States, and it was his intention, when he left France to offer it to the United States for that purpose. I likewise understood from Mr. Monroe and a number of other gentlemen, that it was not a national estate, but was purchased from an individual. I was likewise informed by a number of gentlemen, that it was with difficulty they had persuaded M. Monroe to purchase the estate, and that he was finally influenced by the motive which I before stated, that it would be an advantage to the United States to have such a situation for the residence of their minister.

WILLIAM HULL.

Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
Middlesex, ss. Feb. 9th, A. D. 1801.

Personally appeared before me William Hull, Esq. a Major General in the militia of this commonwealth, and made oath to the truth of the foregoing declaration by him subscribed.

WILLIAM HUNT,
Justice of the Peace.

BOSTON, 5th FEBRUARY, 1801.

James Monroe, Esq.

SIR: Being informed that some reports have been circulated in your State reproaching your motives, and mistaking the circumstances attending the purchase of your mission house in Paris, I take the liberty of sending you the following certificate, under oath, which you are at liberty to make what use of you please.

I, the subscriber, hereby certify that I was in Paris at the time James Monroe, Esq. Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, purchased the mansion house which he occupied during his stay in that country; that the said mansion house, and land purchased with it, were patrimonial estate, belonging to a private individual, and were not of the royal domains, or a part of any estate belonging to emigrants, or that had been confiscated on any account whatever.

I further certify, that said estate was sold to said Monroe at the same price that it had been offered to me, and which I refused, because I could purchase at that time, and did in fact, purchase other valuable estates in France on better terms. I well remember to have heard Mr. Monroe often say, that in case the United States should think fit to purchase a place of residence for their Minister at Paris, as they had done at the Hague, he should at all times be willing to sell them his estate at the price it cost him, but being recalled, without any authority to provide for the residence of a future Minister, he sold his estate for very little, if any thing more than it had cost him.

BENJ. HICHBORN.

Translation of a letter from the Committee of Benevolence of the section of Bonné Rouge, in reply to one from Mr. Monroe.

PARIS, THE 22d OF FRIMAIR, 3d YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC.

The Committee of of Benevolence of the section Bonné Rouge, to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

CITIZEN: The Committee of Benevolence, the organ of the numerous indigent of the secton of Bonné Rouge, to whom your letter has been sent, considers it a duty to communicate the satisfaction it has felt, and which it will feel, in distributing among this unfortunate class, the thousand livres which accompanied it.

It is a consoling balm for the unfortunate, and a particular joy for you and us to know the comfort which they will derive from it, in their deplorable state.

MONTESANO, OCTOBER 10th, 1825.

DEAR SIR: Shortly after your late retirement from Washington, I was favoured by you with a copy of the report of the committee on your message to Congress, respecting your private transactions, which I have read with great interest and attention. Having been during the whole of your two missions to France, as privy to your

private and public conduct, as, I presume, any other individual whatever, I will, in compliance with your request, proceed to state, in relation to both, and on the special subjects of your inquiries, the most important facts which remain still strong within my recollection and firm belief.

Of the hundred, nay hundreds, of our countrymen claiming and suffering by the delay, or denial, of justice on the part of the French government, when I arrived with you in Paris, in 1794, all now living, I doubt not, would remember with me, that your predecessor, Mr. Morris, had from his imputed hostility to the French Revolution incurred so much the displeasure of that government, as to induce him to live very much secluded, generally in the country, and to attend to little else of public concerns, than granting passports, which were not much respected by the French authorities. In this state of things, we found our numerous suffering fellow citizens vainly depending on their own exertions for redress, or on those of private agents, with little or no effect. When it fell to your more fortunate lot to be favourably received by the revolutionary government of France, as Mr. Morris's successor, those American claimants, no less than myself, must remember the extraordinary mass and press upon you, not only of their applications, but of those from most of the commercial ports of the United States and of Europe, which compelled you to employ other persons in aid of your Secretary, until the Consular establishment went into operation, and then, and during several years afterwards, the Consul, (myself) was under the necessity of employing from three to five assistants. Nor can any man, an eye witness, in those days of the French Revolution, of the numerous forms, difficulties, and various Committees and authorities which you as the Minister, and myself the Consul, had to accommodate to, and transact business with, forget, how essential it was, in the advancement of the just rights, safety, and pecuniary claims of our countrymen, to open our houses, and to bestow all personal attentions in our power, to a continued succession and round of men, possessing power, or office, or influence. It is but justice to you to declare, also, that throughout all those Revolutionary scenes and trials, I knew no foreign Minister, or Consul, so constantly at his post, and so incessantly and successfully labouring with the French government to redress the wrongs, and to promote the lawful interests of the great mass of American citizens then in France, and elsewhere, appealing to her government for justice.

With every sentiment of respect and friendship.

I remain dear sir,

FULWAR SKIPWITH.

Mr. Monroe.

New York, 15th November, 1825.

Sir: I am informed by Mr. Lee, that I might possibly communicate to you some circumstances which could be useful relating to the occurrences connected with your first embassy to France. I arrived at Paris, and had the honour to be presented to you, in the latter part of the year 1795, or in the beginning of the year following. At that time, Mr. Prevost, the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Purviance, of Baltimore, and my deceased brother, were all employed and assiduously engaged in the business of your mission. There were then great numbers of our citizens in Paris, having claims on the French government, some for contracts made by its agents in this country, others for property sold at different seaports in France, to persons also employed by the same government; for which payment, in all cases, was sought for through your interference, which created a vast accumulation of correspondence with the different departments of the French government, and with the seaport towns, the last of which, of course, was a heavy contingent expense for postage. About the middle of this year, (1796) my brother had a long and dangerous illness, and I avail myself of this occasion to acknowledge once more my obligations to you and your family, for the attentions and assistance that were afforded him during a very long sickness, in a house which was hired by you for the legation; at this time I was employed in the business of your mission, and thus remained in your family until your return from Holland. From my intimacy with all the gentlemen before named, and from actual employment for a part of the time, I must of course have been a witness to the arduous duties which devolved upon you, and the consequent labour to the persons employed by you, and I do most unhesitatingly declare my opinion, that the contingent expenses of your mission, for that year, were unusually heavy.

I do not know whether any thing I have written can be useful; but you will be pleased to receive it as an effort on my part, however feeble, in aid of your just claims; and as an evidence of the great respect I have for your public services at the time alluded to, as well as those of more recent occurrence.

I have the honour to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
M. GELSTON.

The following address is taken from the book which was published by Mr. Monroe, on his return from France, in 1797. It is material, as it shews the sentiments which were entertained of his conduct, in the discharge of his duties, by his numerous fellow-citizens, who were present, many of them, through his whole mission, and

likewise the extent of his duties, and of the expenses to which he was, in consequence, exposed, proceeding from the state of the country and of its government.

To James Monroe, Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.

PARIS, DECEMBER 6th, 1796.

SIR—As citizens of the United States of America, it is with deep regret we find, that your embass to the republic is soon to terminate, by the arrival of a successor.

If there is a moment which marks, above all others, the unquestionable sincerity of an address, it is that, when presented to a man who is going out of office.

In this situation it is, that your fellow-citizens, now at Paris, come to assure you of that honest and lively concern, which they feel on this occasion. Being on the spot, they have known, and it is with pleasure they testify, to your faithful and unabated application to the duties of your arduous office, and your encreased vigilance for the honour and interest of our common country.

These, sir, are our sentiments of your official deportment, in affairs of a public nature; but when we recollect the readiness and zeal, with which you have so uniformly and ably advocated the individual interests of your fellow-citizens, in all the critical situations to which the various circumstances of this country have so often reduced them, we can only lament the incompetency of language, to do justice to the force of the impression, and the extent of our obligations.

To this, we can only add our most ardent wishes, that you may receive that approbation from our country, which, as far as our observation goes, we conceive to be justly due to your fidelity and eminent services.

We are, with the warmest sentiments of respect and esteem, your affectionate fellow citizens:—

Samuel Broome, senr.	Robert R. Livingston,	A. Waldrylm,
William Tudor,	Oliver L. Phelps,	J. S. Eustace,
Jesse Putnam,	Robert Lyle,	Ephraim Wales,
John Buffington,	Jos. Whittmore,	Edw. Brumfield,
William Lowry,	Oliver Champlain,	F. Rotch,
Nathaniel Cutting,	D. Thompson,	Thos. W. Griffith,
Daniel Parker,	John Fleming,	J. Higginton,
John M. Forbes,	Stephen Blyth,	Henry Worthington,
John Houghton,	Samuel Norwood,	John Hoomes,
R. Bennet Forbes,	James Hemphill,	John Parker,
John G. Heslop,	Benj. Callendar,	F. Hollingsworth,
Josiah Sands,	John Griste,	Henry Fulford,
Thomas Lang,	Thos. Willard,	Henry Johnson,

Louis Marshall,	Thos. Darnforth,	Thomas Paine,
Joseph Russel,	John Bryant,	G. W. Murray,
James V. Murray,	John Mitchell,	Wm. Vams, junr.
J. P. Broome,	Stephen French,	Thomas Ramsden,
M. Levenworth,	John Wheeler,	J. C. Mountflorence,
J. Vouchey,	Z. Walker,	James Anderson,
G. Howell,	Eben. May,	Noel Faming,
Z. Coopman,	Samuel Andrews,	John Gregoire,
Samuel Fulton,	John Fabbe,	Otis Amidon,
William Lee,	Jona. Nesbitt,	M. Gelston.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN MR. MONROE AND MR. PAINE.

When Mr. Monroe arrived in France, in August, 1794, Mr. Paine was imprisoned in the Luxemburg, on which occasion the following correspondence took place between them. Mr. Paine had been arrested with Brissot and other members of that party, most of whom had been guillotined. This correspondence is very voluminous, but it is deemed unnecessary to publish more of it than the following extracts, which give a just view of his situation at that time. Mr. Monroe, though very anxious to obtain his discharge, considered it his duty, in the then state of affairs, to be very circumspect in taking any measures in his favour. He had many interviews with members of the two great committees of the government, of "*Salut Publique*" and "*Surate Generale*," before he made an official application for his release, and it was after the affair was thus informally arranged, that he addressed a note to the latter committee on the subject, a copy of which was enclosed to the Secretary of State, with his letter of Nov. 7th, 1794. The two committees met immediately, and passed an order for his release, which was sent to Mr. Monroe, at day light the next morning. Mr. Monroe sent his secretary with it, to the Luxemburg, in obedience to which Mr. Paine was immediately discharged, and brought by his secretary to the house. Mr. Paine was destitute of every thing, and in ill health, and Mr. Monroe took him to his house and accommodated him with lodging, money, clothes, &c. He lived with Mr. Monroe a year and a half, and when Mr. Monroe left France, Mr. Paine was indebted to him for money loaned, besides the other accommodations and expenses incurred on his account, about 250 Louis, of which no part was ever paid.

Luxemburg, 29th Thermidor.

My Dear Sir—As I believe none of the public papers have announced your name right, I am unable to address you by it—but a

new minister from America is joy to me, and will be so to every American in France.

Eight months I have been imprisoned, and I know not for what, except that the order says that I am a foreigner. The illness I have suffered in this, and from which I am but just recovering, had nearly put an end to my existence: but life is of little value to me in this situation, though I have borne it with a firmness of patience and fortitude.

I enclose you a copy of a letter, as well the translation as the original, which I sent to the convention, after the fall of the monster Robespiere; for I was determined not to write a line during the existence of his detestable influence. I sent also a copy to the Committee of Public Safety, but I have not heard any thing respecting it.

I have now no expectation of delivery, but by your means. The gentleman who will present you this, has been very friendly to me. Wishing you happiness in your appointment, I am, sir, yours affectionately,

THOMAS PAINE.

4th Year.

Dear Sir:—I need not mention to you the happiness I received from the information you sent me by Mr. Beresford. I easily guess the persons you have conversed with, on the subject of my liberation: but matters, and even promises, that pass in conversation, are not quite so strictly attended to here, as in the country you came from.

I am not, my dear sir, impatient from any thing in my disposition; but the state of my health requires liberty and a better air; and besides this, the rules of the prison do not permit me, though I have all the indulgence the *concierge* can give, to procure the things necessary to my recovery, which is slow as to health. The room where I am lodged, is a ground floor level with the earth in the garden, and floored with brick, and so wet after every rain, that I cannot guard against taking colds, that continually check my recovery. If you could, without interfering with or deranging the mode proposed for my liberation, inform the committee, that the state of my health requires liberty and air, it would be a good ground to hasten my liberation. I leave it entirely to you to arrange this matter.

Yours, affectionately,

THOMAS PAINE.

Paris, September 18th, 1794.

Dear Sir:—I was favoured, soon after my arrival here, with several letters from you, and more recently with one in the character of a memorial, upon the subject of your confinement, and should have answered them at the time they were respectively written, had I not con-

cluded you would have calculated, with certainty, on the deep interest I take in your welfare, and the pleasure with which I shall embrace every opportunity in my power to serve you. I should still pursue the same course, and for reasons which must obviously occur, if I did not find that you are disquieted with apprehensions, upon interesting points, and which justice to you and our country, equally forbid you should entertain. You mention, that you have been informed, you are not considered an American citizen by the Americans; and that you have likewise heard, I had no instructions respecting you by the government. I doubt not, that the person who gave the information meant well; but I suspect he did not even convey, accurately, his own ideas on the first point; for I presume the most any one could say is, that you had become, likewise, a French cititzen; which, by no means, deprives you of the rights of an American one. Even this, however, may be doubted—I mean the acquisition of citizenship here. I confess you have said much, to shew that it has not been made. I really suspect this was all that gentleman who wrote you, and those Americans he heard speak on the subject, meant. It becomes my duty, however, to declare to you, that I consider you an American citizen, and that you are considered, universally, in that character, by the people of America. As such, you are entitled to my attention; and so far as it can be given, consistently with those obligations which are mutual between every government, and even a transient passenger, you shall receive it.

The Congress have never decided upon the subject of citizenship, in a manner to regard the present case. By being with us through the revolution, you are of our country, as absolutely as if you had been born there; and you are no more of England, than every native of America is. This is the true doctrine in the present case, so far as it becomes complicated with any other consideration. I have mentioned it, to make you easy upon the only point, which could give you any disquietude.

Is it necessary for me to tell you, how much all your countrymen, I speak of the great mass of the people, are interested in your welfare? They have not forgotten the history of their own revolution, and the difficult scenes through which they have passed—nor do they review its several stages, without reviving in their bosoms, a due sensibility for the merits of those, who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and, I trust, never will stain, our national character. You are considered by them, not only as having rendered important services in our own revolution, but as being, upon a more extensive scale, the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate, in favour of the public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine, the Americans are not, nor can they be, indifferent.

Of the sense which the President has always entertained of your merits, and of his friendly disposition towards you, you are too well

assured, to require any declaration of it from me. That I forward his wishes, in seeking your safetly, is what I well know; and this will form an additional obligation on me, to perform what I should otherwise consider my duty.

You are, in my opinion, at present, menaced by no kind of danger. To liberate you will be the object of my endeavours, and as soon as possible. But you must, until that event shall be accomplished, bear your situation with patience and fortitude. You will, likewise, have the justice to recollect, that I am placed here upon a difficult theatre; many important objects to attend to, with few to consult. It becomes me, in pursuit of them, so to regulate my conduct in respect to each, as to the manner and the time, as will, in my judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the whole. With respect and esteem, consider me, personally, your friend,

JAMES MONROE.

THOMAS PAINE.

LUXEMBURG, 14th VENDEMIERE, Oct'r. 4th.

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your very friendly and affectionate letter of the 18th of September, which I did not receive till this morning. It has relieved my mind from a load of disquietude. You will easily suppose, that if the information I received had been exact, my situation was without hope. I had, in that case, neither section, department, nor country to reclaim me—But this is not all; I felt a poignancy of grief, in having the least reason to suppose, that America had so soon forgotten me, who had never forgotten her.

Mr. Sabonidiere directed me, in a note of yesterday, to write to the Convention. As I suppose this measure has been taken in concert with you, I have requested him to show you the letter, of which he will make a translation, to accompany the original.

If the letter I have written, be not covered with better authority than my own, it will have no effect; for they already know all that I can say. On what ground do they pretend to deprive America of the service of one of her citizens, without assigning a cause, or only the flimsy one of my being born in England? Gates, were he here, might be arrested on the same pretence, and he and Burgoyne be confounded together. I conclude, with thanking you again for your very friendly and affectionate letter.

I am, with great regard, yours,

THOMAS PAINE.

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO MR. MONROE'S SECOND MISSION TO FRANCE.

WASHINGTON, JAN. 10, 1803.

Governor Monroe:—

DEAR SIR—I have but a moment to inform you, that the fever into which the Western mind is thrown by the affair at New Orleans, stimulated by the mercantile and generally the federal interest, threatens to overbear our peace. In this situation, we are obliged to call on you for a temporary sacrifice of yourself, to prevent this greatest of evils, in the present prosperous tide of our affairs. I shall to-morrow nominate you to the Senate, for an extraordinary mission to France, and the circumstances are such, as to render it impossible to decline; because the whole public hope will be rested on you. I wish you to be either in Richmond or Albemarle, till you receive another letter from me, which will be within two days hence, if the Senate decide immediately; or later, according to the time they take to decide. In the mean time, pray work night and day, to arrange your affairs for a temporary absence—perhaps for a long one. Accept affectionate salutations.

TH. JEFFERSON.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Jefferson to Col. Monroe, dated

WASHINGTON, JANUARY 13th, 1803.

DEAR SIR: I dropped you a line on the 10th, informing you of a nomination I had made of you to the senate, and yesterday I enclosed you their approbation, not having then time to write. The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposite at New Orleans, is extreme. This in the Western country is natural, and grounded on operative motives. Remonstrances, memorials, &c. are now circulating through the whole of that country, and signing by the body of the people. The measures which we have been pursuing, being invisible, do not satisfy their minds; something sensible, therefore, has become necessary, and indeed our object of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas, is a measure likely to assume so many shapes, that no instructions could be squared to fit them. It was essential, then, to send a Minister Extraordinary to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary power, first however, well impressed with all our views, and therefore qual-

× we distinguish these passages by capitals, as deserving particular attention.

ified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in frequent and full oral communication. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions as to the person. You possessed the unlimited confidence of the administration, and of the Western people, and were you to refuse to go, no other man can be found who does this. All eyes are now fixed on you; and, were you to decline, the chagrin would be great, and would shake under your feet the high ground on which you stand with the public. Indeed I know nothing which would produce such a shock: for, on the event of this mission, depends the future destinies of this Republic. If we cannot, by a purchase of the country, ensure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then, as war cannot be far distant, it behoves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without however hastening it, and it may be necessary (on your failure on the continent) to cross the channel. We shall get entangled in European politics, and figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission. I am sensible, after the measures you have taken for getting into a different line of business, that it will be a great sacrifice on your part, and presents, from the season, and other circumstances, serious difficulties. But some men are born for the public. Nature, by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped them with the evidences of her destination and their duty.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Talleyrand to Mr. Livingston, dated Paris, 24th March, 1803.

PARIS, I GERMINAL, 11 YEAR (24th March, 1803.)

SIR:—I see with pleasure by the last letters, of the French Legation to the United States, that the species of fermentation raised there on account of Louisiana, has been carried back, by the wisdom of your government, and the just confidence which it inspires, to that state of tranquility which is alone suited to discussions, and which, in the relations of sentiment and interest existing between the two people, cannot but conducts them to understand themselves, upon the simple difficulties of circumstances, and to bind more and more the bonds of their mutual union. I ought to own to you, sir, that, in the eclat which has been so lately given there to the affairs relating to Louisiana, it has been difficult to discover the ancient sentiments of attachment and of confidence with which France has always endeavoured to inspire the people of the United States, and who, from the first moment of their existence as an independent and sovereign nation, have always held their political relations with France, above all other political relations.

How could the neighbourhood of France affect unfavourably the American people, either in their commercial or political relations? Has the French Republic ever shewn a desire to impede the prosperity of the United States, to lessen their influence, to weaken the means of their security, or oppose any obstacle to the progress of their commerce? Your government, sir, ought to be well persuaded that the First Consul bears to the American nation the same affection with which France has been at all times animated, and that he considers the new means which the possession of Louisiana affords to him of convincing the government and people of the United States of his friendly disposition towards them, in the number of advantages which ought to derive from that acquisition.

I shall, for the present moment, confine myself to this declaration, which ought to remove the inquietudes which you have expressed in your last letters. The subject is not established upon information sufficiently extensive to authorize a detailed explanation. In announcing to me, moreover, the approaching departure of Mr. Monroe, appointed Minister Extraordinary to discuss this subject, you give me to conclude that your government desires that this Minister be waited for and heard, that every matter, susceptible of contradiction, be completely and definitely discussed? In the mean time, sir, the First Consul charges me to assure your government, that, far from thinking that our new position in Louisiana could be an object of solicitude, or cause the least injury to the United States, he will receive the Minister Extraordinary whom the President sends to him, with the greatest pleasure, and that he hopes that his mission will terminate to the satisfaction of both nations.

CH. M. TALLEYRAND.

Copy of a letter from Robert R. Livingston to Mr. Monroe, dated

PARIS, 10th APRIL, 1803.

DEAR SIR:—I congratulate you on your safe arrival. We have long and anxiously wished for you. God grant that your mission may answer yours and the public expectation. War may do something for us, nothing else would. I have paved the way for you, and if you would add to my memoirs an assurance that we were now in possession of New Orleans, we should do well; but I detain Mr. Beutalou, who is impatient to fly to the arms of his wife. I have apprised the Minister of your arrival, and told him you would be here on Tuesday or Wednesday. Present my compliments and Mrs. L.'s to Mrs. Monroe, and believe me, dear sir,

Your friend, and humble servant,

ROBT. R. LIVINGSTON.

To his Excellency JAS. MONROE.

A Copy of the Extracts from Col. John Mercer's Journal.

"Extracts from my journal, commencing on the 8th of March, 1803, the day on which I sailed from New York for France.

"April 8th, we arrived off Havre about one o'clock in the morning, twenty-nine days from Sandy Hook; two French pilots came on board at three.

"About one in the afternoon, Mr. Monroe was received with very particular and marked attention. A salute was fired from the fort soon after his being at the hotel. In the course of the day he was waited upon by the General commanding at Havre, attended by officers, who expressed their satisfaction at his safe arrival. In the evening a guard of fifty soldiers was paraded before the hotel, and ordered to receive Mr. Monroe's directions; but upon his requesting that only two might be permitted to remain, which he should consider equally respectful, the others were marched off, and the two regularly relieved.

"9th. Finding it inconvenient on account of our baggage, &c. to proceed immediately to Paris, we remained at Havre this day. In the evening the officers of the Navy waited upon Mr. Monroe to pay their respects to him, as did several Americans who were in this town.

"10th. We left Havre at ten o'clock in the morning, and got to Rouen about seven in the evening.

"11th. We departed from Rouen at eight in the morning, and arrived at St. Germain, within ten or twelve miles of Paris, at ten in the evening.

"12th. I arrived in Paris about one o'clock, P. M. with Mr. Monroe, he leaving his family at St. Germain. Mr. Monroe immediately wrote a note to Mr. Livingston, the American Minister, informing him of his arrival, and of his intention to wait upon him in the evening if Mr. Livingston would be at home, and without company, as he, Mr. M. was much fatigued with his journey, and a little indisposed. In Mr. Livingston's answer, he congratulated Mr M. upon his arrival —informed him he would be without company in the evening, and would be glad to see him, but if Mr. M. was too much indisposed to go out, he would do himself the pleasure of waiting upon him. Having letters for Mr. Livingston, jr. from his friend, Mr. Cutting, at New York, I accompanied Mr. Monroe in the evening, to the Ministers. None but the family were present. We were received in a friendly and polite manner. We had been seated only a few minutes when the conversation turned upon the state of things in America at our departure. In the course of it, Mr. Livingston asked "what had become of Mr. Ross's resolutions?" Being answered by Mr. M. that that they were superseded by others of a more pacific character, he said, "I am sorry for it." "I wish they had been adopted. Only force can give New Orleans to us;" and farther declared, that he believed nothing but the actual possession of the country by the Americans, would give success to the mission in which he was associated with

Mr. M. To this Mr. M. made no reply. Upon leaving Mr. L.'s I expressed my surprise at the opinion entertained by this gentleman and regretted that the prospect of a peaceable result to the negotiation appeared to him so gloomy.

JOHN MERCER."

Letter from Mr. Monroe to Mr. Talleyrand.

TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

PARIS, MAY 19, 1803.

SIR:—As some months will elapse before we can receive the decision and commands of our government, respecting the treaty and conventions which we have had the honour to conclude with Mr. Marbois, under your ministry, I consider it my duty to pursue, in the interval, the remaining objects of my mission, which are now to be adjusted with his Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. With that view, I propose to set out, as soon as circumstances will permit, to Madrid, which I flatter myself will be practicable in the course of the next week. In the happy conclusion of our negotiation with your government, (a sentiment which I am persuaded will be always cherished, by both nations, of the result,) Mr. Marbois promised, on the part of the First Consul, his friendly intercession and support of our negotiation, with his Catholic Majesty, for such territory as he claims Eastward of the Mississippi. Permit me to invite your attention to that subject, and request that you will be so obliging as to furnish me such aid, either by instructions at the Court of Madrid, or in such other mode, as may be thought most suitable to the character of the powers interested, be best calculated to promote success in the object desired, and manifest the very friendly disposition of the First Consul to the United States, of which I entertain the most perfect confidence.

I beg you to accept the assurance of my high consideration and esteem.

JAMES MONROE.

Copy of a Letter from Col. James Lewis.

TO COL. JAMES MONROE:—Albermarle.

ALBEMARLE, NEAR CHARLOTTESVILLE, OCTOBER 12, 1826.

SIR: In compliance with your request, that I would communicate the reasons which induced you to sell your land above Charlottesville, while you were in Europe, in your mission to France, I readily make

you the following statement, which you will find substantially correct, and will correspond with the report which I formerly made to you; but as my papers are in Tennessee, and having only my memory to assist me, I cannot go so minutely into the details as I could wish; but should you deem it necessary, on my return, I will be able to give you an exact account of the quantity of land sold, the price it sold for, with every other information you may want, relative to the business I transacted for you, during your absence in Europe.

As soon as you were appointed, you informed me of it, and that you must sail immediately, and requested me to come to Richmond, as you intended to give me the charge of your estate in Albermarle during your absence. I complied with your request, and proceeded forthwith to Richmond, which, as well as my memory serves me, was in January or Febuary, 1803. You appointed me your agent, with instructions and a power of attorney to act for you during your absence, with a power to sell a portion of your property to discharge your debts, should I at any time find it necessary to do so. You stated to me that you only could advance me a trifle, and actually did not advance me more than one hundred dollars, if so much, and assigned as a reason that the government had not made you such an allowance as would enable you to do it; that you would be exposed to great expense in your mission, and would require all the money you could obtain to bear it. You expressed great concern at being compelled to depart in such haste, that you could not settle your private affairs, nor make provision for any debts you might owe, but that you would not allow any person to whom you might be indebted, to suffer in your absence. I took charge of your estate, and was able to avoid a sale for about two years, within which time you were expected home; but as you still continued abroad, and the proceeds of the farm not being sufficient to meet all the demands, and it being uncertain at what time you might return, and some of your creditors being themselves pressed for money, I thought it best to advertise some of your property for sale. I accordingly advertised your large tract of land in Kentucky, and your land in this county that lay above Charlottesville. Not being able to get a bid for the Kentucky land, I was obliged to sell the tract of land above Charlottesville, which contained, as well as my memory serves me, something like nine hundred and fifty acres, on which the University now stands, and which I sold for five or six dollars the acre. The amount, I am confident, did not exceed six dollars. At the time I sold that land, I conceived it to be worth more; but being obliged to have a part in cash, for the payment of one of your debts, I could at that time do no better, and was acting, at the same time, agreeably to your instructions; to make a sacrifice, rather than let your creditors suffer. Had you been able, at that time, to have advanced me the sum of two thousand dollars, I am confident I could have made the creditors easy, and not

been obliged to sell the land; and perhaps a less sum than that would have been sufficient.

You also wish to know of me the difference in the price of the land that I sold, whereon the university is now fixed—that is, the difference in the present prices. Having not been here for some time, I can only state the present prices from information. I am told that an acre of land, which I sold to Wm. G. Garner, on the road near the Rotunda, would sell at this time for seven or eight hundred dollars, and perhaps more. I am also informed that John M. Perry sold to Col. Wm. Garth one hundred acres at one hundred dollars per acre; that there have been sold other parts of the land, formerly yours, at eighty dollars per acre; and the remotest parts of the tract have been sold, or would now command, forty dollars per acre. But, as to the present prices of the land, you can get the most correct information from the people of Charlottesville and its vicinity.

I remain, with sentiments of respect, yours, &c.

JAS. LEWIS.

P. S. Should it be necessary, I am willing to qualify to the correctness of the above. My address in Franklin county, Winchester, Tennessee. J. L.

MR. RINGGOLD'S DEPOSITION.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 14, 1826.

When Mr. Monroe was appointed Secretary of the Department of War, in September, 1814, he appointed and selected me as the clerk in that department to take charge, under him, of all the money transactions thereof. Upon entering on these duties, it was found that a large amount of drafts, which had been accepted by the late Secretary of War, were lying over under protest; and that drafts for immense amounts were hourly appearing, for the payment of which the Treasury was totally unable to furnish funds, except in depreciated Treasury notes. Mr. Campbell had resigned the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and Mr. Dallas had not been appointed to succeed him. The only alternative left for Mr. Monroe, in this disastrous state of the finances of the government, was loans, to be obtained by the Department of War, under the sanction of the President, if possible. By authority of Mr. Madison, the President, loans amounting to about five millions, were negotiated by Mr. Monroe, as Secretary of War, as will appear, reference being had to his correspondence, now on file in the Department of War, commencing with his letters of the 5th September, 1814, to General Bloomfield, and ending with a letter to Governor Shelby, dated 30th January, 1815.

In addition to these loans, Mr. Monroe borrowed large sums from the Banks of this District, simply by pledging the faith of the government to pay them, with legal interest, so soon as the Treasury was in a situation to furnish the funds. I do not at present recollect the amount of these last mentioned loans; they were upwards of a million of dollars; and thus the government saved 20 per cent. on these loans, that being the difference between the *par* and the depreciated value of the government securities, at that gloomy period of the war.

In the winter of 1814–15, (January, 1815,) I think the Paymaster General received information, that his deputies had no funds in their hands to pay the troops of General Jackson, defending New Orleans. I made application to Mr. Dallas, by order of Mr. Monroe, for funds to be transmitted to New Orleans, to pay this army. It was totally out of Mr. Dallas's power to furnish a dollar. Application was then made to our District Banks, which we had before exhausted by loans: and refusals were received from all, with the exception of the Bank of the Metropolis, and the Farmer's Bank of Georgetown. The presidents of these institutions furnished Mr. Monroe with $125,000 each; and Captain Knight, a deputy paymaster, was instantly despatched with $250,000: and I have been informed, arrived in time to relieve the pressing wants of Jackson's gallant army, by paying the notes of these two little Banks *at par;* when the depreciated Treasury Notes of the government were refused throughout the country, by the creditors of the United States. And this loan was made on the bare word of Mr. Monroe, that the banks should be honourably paid, whenever the state of the Treasury would permit.

Another transaction of Mr. Monroe's, while Secretary of War, ought to be mentioned by me, as it places his disinterested patriotism in such colours, that to withhold it would be sheer injustice. In the year 1814, the Paymaster General was presented with a draft, from one of his deputies in the Northwestern army for $50,000, belonging (as my present recollection serves me) to the Miami Exporting Company, who had advanced the money in Ohio, for the amount thereof. Orders were given to William Whann, the Cashier of the Bank of Columbia, to whom the draft was sent for collection, to protest and send it back instantly, if it was not promptly paid; and as Mr. Brent had no funds to meet it, except *depreciated Treasury Notes*, Whann was on the point of sending it back. Mr. Monroe, however, prevailed on him to write to the holders, that the draft had been paid, on Mr. Monroe's accepting, in his *private capacity*, a draft, drawn on him at short date, for $50,000, by the Paymaster General, and pledging his word that it should be paid when at maturity. I have, within a few days, endeavoured to find this draft in the War Department, but am informed it cannot now be found; but the bill-book now in the Department, records the draft accepted by Mr. Monroe. A short time after, another draft was presented under similar circumstances and with similar orders, and Mr. Monroe accepted under like responsibility in his private

capacity. Mr. Whann is dead, but I have been informed that Mr. William Stewart, a Clerk in the office of the Second Auditor, has heard him relate the facts, as above stated by me.

All which is respectfully submitted to the Committee on the Claims of Mr. Monroe, in conformity to the letter of its chairman, dated February, 1816, requesting any information in possession, in relations to loans made by James Monroe, in 1814, 1815.

TENCH RINGGOLD.

FINIS.

y '09

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 011 837 061 2